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Former President Bush Arrives for Visit 12 Nov

AU1311165794 Paris AFP in English 1239 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Nov 12 (AFP)—Former U.S. President George Bush arrived in Tirana Saturday [12 Nov] for a one-day visit to the former Stalinist state where he is to be the guest of President Sali Berisha.

Bush, accompanied by his wife Barbara, was to hold talks with the Albanian leader before attending a lunch of honour. He was due later to visit the historic town of Kruja, 50 kilometres (30 miles) north of Tirana, birthplace of the national hero Skanderbeg.

Officials meanwhile announced joint U.S.-Albanian military exercises would take place next week in southeast Albania as part of the Partnership for Peace scheme which Tirana joined last February.

The scheme aims to associate the former communist states of Eastern Europe more closely with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Albania has placed air and sea bases at NATO's disposal and may join in manoeuvres, humanitarian and peacekeeping operations with the alliance under the scheme.

Berisha Meets With Bush

LD1311193594 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1700 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The United States of America aims at establishing high-level relations with Albania. The aid to Albania and democracy in Albania are to the interests of the United States.

This was stated by the former president of the United States, George Bush who, accompanied by his wife, paid a one-day visit to Albania Saturday on the invitation of the Albanian president, Sali Berisha.

At the meeting with Mr. Bush, Berisha said that the Albanians are grateful for what the (?former) president of the United States, Bush, has made for them. After President [name indistinct] you are the first distinguished friend of the Albanians. The Albanians are grateful to you and your administration for the aid provided to liberate them from dictatorship and establishment of democracy, said Albanian President Sali Berisha.

Albania, he went on to say, is engaged in the development of a genuine democracy to the state of justice and the market economy. Albanian president considered this as the great contribution of Albania to peace and stability in the region. This is why it deserved to be helped by all democratic countries, Berisha said.

Albania considers the possibility of cooperation with the United States as a great possibility for the consolidation of values of democracy and the market economy in Albania.

The anian president highly valued the attitude of the American former president, George Bush, concerning the withdrawal of the red line in Kosovo, regarding this fact of decisive importance in the discouragement of the aggressor. Albania, Berisha said, is being faced not only with difficulties inherited from the past and the conflict in the Balkans, but also by difficulties created by some unreasonable blockades and tensions which we hope to settle by means of dialogue.

Assessing the contribution of former President George Bush in the liberation of the Albanians from the communist dictatorship and in the establishment of democracy in Albania, President Berisha awarded the Golden Medal of Skanderbeg, the national hero of Albania, to President Bush under the motivation: To Bush, former president and distinguished figure of American people, bearer of the great torch of freedom; to the distinguished friend of Albania and the Albanians for the special contribution in the liberation and support of the Albanians and other peoples which for decades on end suffered under the communist dictatorship.

Regarding this medal as a very beautiful and great surprise, Mr. Bush expressed his gratitude, saying that he felt himself very proud to be awarded with that medal by a person who has engaged himself with the freedom and democracy like President Berisha. I am grateful not only to Mr. Berisha, he said, but to the all Albanian people who are enjoying freedom and democracy and working for the improvement of their living standard.

Adem Demaci, chairman of the council for the protection of human rights in Pristina, attended the ceremony of the handing over of this medal to Mr. Bush.

In a visit paid to the historical museum of the city of Kruja, the center of the resistance of the Albanians headed by Skanderbeg against the Ottoman invaders, Mr. Bush considered President Berisha as a great friend and leader of democracy and freedom in this part of the world. He said the United States has much trust in the freedom and democracy and their state administration tries much to assist that.

The former president of the United States, George Bush, assessed the progress Albania has made in this road.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. George Bush and his wife left Albania.

Berisha Says Voters Reject Liberal Constitution

AU1011144894 Paris AFP in English 1337 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Nov 10 (AFP)—Albanians have rejected a liberal western-style constitution in a referendum, President Sali Berisha was quoted as saying on Thursday.

Official results of last Sunday's referendum have not yet been released, but Berisha, speaking to members of parties represented in parliament, said voters had turned down the proposal.

Eduard Selami, president of the ruling Democratic Party, quoted Berisha as proposing instead that a committee be set up to draft a new constitutional project for the former communist country.

Selami also said there was no doubt that Albanian voters had said no to the draft constitution.

A "no" vote is seen as the first major setback for Berisha since he came to power in 1992, when Albanians elected a non-communist government after decades of hardline Stalinist rule that left the country isolated and destitute.

The subject of the referendum was a draft constitution establishing Albania as a democratic state with a market economy enshrining rights to private property and religious freedom and separating legislative, executive and judicial powers. It was the first referendum in Albania's history.

Suggests New Commission

AU1011194094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting today, President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha received the chairmen of parliamentary parties—Democratic Party Chairman Eduard Selami, Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi, Social Democratic Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi, Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo, and Vasil Melo, chairman of the Human Rights Union Party, regarding the problem of the constitution.

President Berisha stressed that the constitution should be the greatest priority of all Albanian political forces because, although the final results have not been confirmed yet, at its first referendum on 6 November, the people said no to the draft constitution that was designed according to constitutional principles of a parliamentary republic of a law-governed state and market economy, and had enjoyed the support of experts and international specialized organizations.

Berisha said: However, the verdict of the people through their free vote is respected and is not a matter for discussion. The fact that the people did not approve this draft necessarily requires the preparation of another draft by a new constitutional commission. That is why I am suggesting to the parliamentary political parties that they elect a new commission in parliament and achieve a consensus with a view to realizing a more perfect constitution for Albanian as soon as possible, this being a precondition to consolidating reforms and integrating Albania into European institutions. This draft should then be presented to the people for approval again; as with the first referendum, it is up to the people to decide on the constitution.

I would suggest, based on my analysis of your disagreements on the draft constitution, that you decide to resolve through consensus the nature of our state, based on successful models in European democracy.

As a second alternative, I would suggest that parliament establish a commission of non-party experts, with the participation of foreign experts, to formulate the draft constitution, concluded Berisha.

The party chairmen assessed the president's step as an important effort to find a way for Albania to have a constitution as soon as possible.

Democratic Party Chairman Eduard Selami, Social Democratic Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi, Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo, and Vasil Melo of the Human Rights Union Party agreed to suggest to parliament that it create a commission to formulate the constitution. Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi said that if the procedure followed to approve the constitution is not condemned, he does not give his approval to the creation of a new commission by parliament on the new draft constitution.

Commission's Announcement

AU1011195094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Announcement by Central Election Commission for Referendum on Draft Constitution issued in Tirana on 10 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] By a decree of President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha on 6 November 1994, a nationwide referendum to approve the draft constitution of the Republic of Albania was held throughout the country.

With its main prerogative the authority precisely and fairly to respect Law No. 7866 dated 6 October 1994, on referenda, the Central Election Commission for the referendum took every step to ensure that voting on the draft constitution took place in full conformity with it.

Although this was the first referendum in Albania, from the point of view of procedure, the rules were generally the same as those determined in Law No. 7573, dated 16 June 1992, on elections to local government bodies.

Despite the experience of the elections, in several districts, such as Tirana, Korce, Fier, Berat, and elsewhere, irregularities were observed in the drafting, timely issuing, and accurately compiling of the voters lists, in creating commissions to settle various voting issues, in carrying out all the judicial procedures of voting, and other things.

Despite all these shortcomings, some of which were corrected by district commissions and the Central Election Commission, the latter is of the opinion that the referendum proceeded normally.

The referendum was monitored by representatives of various international and domestic organizations.

Under these circumstances, based on Article 35 of Law No. 7866, dated 6 October 1994, on referenda, the Central Election Commission is issuing the final results, which were processed by the team of the Institute of Applied Data and Mathematics set up especially for the occasion. The results are as follows:

Of the 1,985,956 citizens registered on the electoral lists, 1,676,835, or 84.43 percent, voted. Of these, 699,245 or 41.7 percent citizens voted for the draft constitution, while 903,630, or 53.89 percent, voted against it.

To conclude, based on Article 36 of the law on referenda, the constitution about which the referendum was held is considered unacceptable, since fewer than 50 percent of those citizens who voted supported it.

Court Judges Resign Over Referendum Issue

AU1411131294 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 5 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by Armand Mero: "Three Explosive Resignations in the Constitutional Court"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—An earthquake in the constitutional court. On Thursday [3 November], three of its members—Thimio Kombi, Natasha Sheshi, and Ylvi Myrtja—submitted their resignations. Their reason was the court's failure to consider a complaint by two of the opposition parties—the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party—that the referendum law was unconstitutional. The decision by the three judges was made known just a few days before the referendum, and they stress that their resignation is not at all a political act, but involves professional ethics. "This act by the Constitutional Court," Mr. Kombi explained to GAZETA SHQIPTARE, "diminishes the authority of the institution to which we belong."

The three Constitutional Court members officially submitted their resignations on Thursday morning to Court Chairman Rustem Gjata, sending a copy at the same time to the President of the Republic, since these two are the ones who appoint the Constitutional Court judges. "We were compelled to take this step," Kombi said, "because although we are not responsible for these acts, we do not want to feel even morally responsible."

The opposition complaint against the referendum law, together with a request that it be abrogated and that the referendum on the draft constitution be canceled, were presented to the Constitutional Court immediately after the legislature had approved the law by a majority vote. So far, with just a few days to go before the referendum, there has been no response from the court. "The request has not been considered at all," Kombi says, "and there was little chance that it would be. Any response after the referendum will be of no use at all." Meanwhile, by Thursday evening there had been no comment on the subject by Chairman Gjata. "We will convene and issue a statement," was all that Gjata could say.

Ministry Welcomes Papoulias Call for Dialogue

AU1011205994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Announcer-read statement by the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania issued in Tirana on 10 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some minutes ago, the Foreign Ministry spokesman reported that according to Greek mass media announcements, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has recently declared that Greece wants to overcome problems in Albanian relations and that both countries should sit at the negotiating table, adding that the Greek side has not set the release of five Albanian citizens of Greek origin as a precondition.

For our part, we stress that at every moment of crisis in Albanian-Greek relations, the Albanian side has always proffered dialogue. As far as current Albanian-Greek issues and claims by the Greek side are concerned, the Albanian side continues to maintain the same stance, although the unconditioned dialogue offered by the Albanian side has always been rejected by the Greek Government.

We hope Mr. Papoulias's statements are a sign of a change in the attitude of Greek officials who, until some time ago, set conditions for sitting at the negotiating table with Albania.

The Albanian side hopes this is a gesture of a good will, something the Greek side has been lacking so far.

Sudeten Leader on Czech Access to European Union

LD1211142294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Sudeten German Landsmannschaft's National Assembly in Munich was addressed today by its chairman, Franz Neubauer. Our Bonn correspondent Jiri Halousek reports:

[Halousek] [passage omitted] Commenting on this year's elections to the European Parliament, Franz Neubauer stressed that finding a solution to the still open Sudeten German issue must become a part of the process of accepting the Czech Republic into the European Union [EU]. He recalled a letter he sent in mid-October to all newly elected European Parliament deputies, expressing the view that the Czech Republic could join the EU only after the abolishment by Prague of the Benes Decrees.

Commenting on statements by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, which allege that the German side has so far never put the issue of the Benes Decrees on the official agenda, Neubauer demanded that the Federal German Government put all aspects of the Sudeten German issue on the agenda of official talks between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Havel Comments on Relations With National Council

LD1311140394

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech at 1315 GMT on 13 November carries the regular Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel for the Conversations at Lany program presented today by Robert Tamchyna. The 10-minute interview concerns Havel's relations with parliament. Havel mentions his regular meetings with representatives of different deputies' groups, his monthly dinners with the parliament chairman and deputy chairmen, as well as ad hoc meetings with individual deputies.

Havel says he intends to deliver a major parliament address in March of next year, in hopes that this will establish a tradition of yearly presidential addresses to parliament.

He also says he hopes to be able to attend parliament sessions without deputies necessarily expecting him to address the session.

Commenting on the fact that parliament is not popular among the population, Havel says that, in a way, this reflects on what people think about themselves, as it was they who chose their representatives in parliament.

Asked about the issue of Czech citizenship, Havel says he has been interested in this issue for a long time, even before recent criticism of the Czech citizenship law from abroad. He intends to study the problem, to meet the Czech interior minister, and, subsequently, to publicly comment on the issue.

The interview concludes with Havel's mentioning his agenda for the next few months. This includes his trip to attend a CSCE summit in December and his speech on the anniversary of the 17 November 1989 events.

KDU-CSL Reacts to Klaus's 4 Nov Statement

AU1111191694 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 7 Nov 94 p 2

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—According to Jan Kasal, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), Vaclav Klaus, Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) again slandered the Christian parties—that is, also the People's Party. It is a method commonly used by politicians when they do not have enough positive news about their own party, Kasal said. He commented on the speech Klaus delivered on 4 November, in which the ODS chairman stated that "if someone was blocking settlement of church property restitution because he wants to use it 'forever' as his political card because he has no other, the Christian parties fit the bill." Kasal went on to say, "Our chances in the local elections naturally make the ODS chairman nervous. If he continues to base his proclaimed conservatism on attacks against Christian parties, it will be an original contribution to the treasury of conservatism." He emphasized that the KDU-CSL would not let itself be provoked by such statements and would fulfill its own appeal that the election campaign be conducted correctly, "even if the response is not what we expect—insincere phrases about willingness to cooperate and a subsequent blow below the belt," the deputy chairman added.

Opposition Chairman on Political Situation

AU1011180094 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman by Alexandr Mitrofanov; place and date not given: "The Social Democrats Are Still Out To Get the Government's Scalp and All Its Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mitrofanov] Is the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] still out to get the government's scalp?

[Zeman] Of course. The government is an octopus that has many arms and, therefore, many scalps. We are out to collect the scalps of Minister Ruml, Minister Rubas, and several other not very competent ministers. We were also out to get the scalp of former Minister Baudys and are glad to have succeeded.

[Mitrofanov] I have the impression that, while the octopus has many arms, it does not have numerous scalps.

[Zeman] I admit that I am not so well versed in biology, but it does not really matter whether I go after a scalp or an arm. After all, an arm is more dangerous than a scalp.

[Mitrofanov] Recently, you did not rule out a major coalition between the CSSD and the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. Under what conditions would such a coalition be possible?

[Zeman] There is a certain movement currently going on within the ODS. The party has ideological fanatics who extol the maxim that "The market will solve everything." It has people who perceive politics as an elevator to power and privatization as an opportunity to get rich quick and abuse political and party posts. Under no circumstances would the CSSD go into a coalition with these people. On the other hand, we have registered at least touches of realism—the criticism by Josef Zieleniec, minister and ODS deputy chairman, for instance, of the constitutional law on a balanced state budget tabled by Prime Minister Klaus. So far, we are not able to even guess the degree to which these touches might intensify, and whether a group will form within the ODS with which we could seriously negotiate even if we disagreed on many issues.

[Mitrofanov] Was this discussed at your recent lunch with Josef Zieleniec?

[Zeman] The discussion topic of this meeting, which took place at the minister's invitation, was foreign policy.

[Mitrofanov] Have the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] responded to your idea that the CSSD could form a coalition with them?

[Zeman] This coalition cannot be ruled out. Only the 1996 parliamentary elections will show how realistic the idea is. Consultations took place between our deputies' club and its ODA counterpart, during which we discovered an affinity of our views on such issues as the constitutional arrangement and the separation of social funds from the state budget.

Two fundamental currents exist within the KDU-CSL. One of them realizes itself in the issue of church restitutions, while the other, the truly Christian current, builds on the principles of the most recent papal encyclical letters, which emphasize precisely the social dimension of the transformation of society. It is purely a matter of the internal development in the KDU-CSL which of the two currents will dominate.

[Mitrofanov] So, you have not yet conducted any official talks with ODA and the KDU-CSL?

[Zeman] There are talks that are not helped by publicity.

[Mitrofanov] Have there been such talks?

[Zeman] No comment.

[Mitrofanov] Do you give priority to the preparation of these coalitions or to the establishment of a strong CSSD?

[Zeman] Our task certainly is not to destroy the opposition democratic parties other than the CSSD. Moreover, our primary task is not to prepare some coalitions but, rather, to have a clear and addressing positive program that will be connected with a powerful criticism of the failures and mistakes of the government policy. A draft CSSD election program in the form of a simulated government policy statement is to be ready for the March congress. It should be updated and complemented by specific bills before the 1996 parliamentary elections.

[Mitrofanov] Why do the Social Democrats oppose the Trnka and Opatril idea of a coalition of the opposition parties?

[Zeman] We were the ones to propose this coalition in the form of the Realistic Bloc. This was followed by a drop in support for the small opposition parties. Many prominent personalities, particularly from the ranks of the Free Democrats (Civic Movement) and the Liberal Social Union, transferred to the CSSD. Mr. Trnka left the Realistic Bloc even before this happened. Therefore, we consider the belated calls for a coalition of opposition parties to be only an attempt at keeping certain political posts.

[Mitrofanov] Are the Free Democrats for you really just candidates for joining the CSSD? You would not consider cooperating with them as a party?

[Zeman] The Free Democrats (Civic Movement) lost the 1992 parliamentary elections but did not learn their lesson from this failure. They left the originators of their defeat in the leadership. We would like to have a strong liberal party here, but it would have to be a successful one. The hitherto leadership of the Free Democrats (Civic Movement) has demonstrated to us its inability to achieve such a success. We hold many people from the Free Democrats (Civic Movement) in high esteem and are glad if they are now working in the CSSD. I would be very glad if Kveta Korinkova, for instance, our chairman of the Commission for Public Administration, were in the future one of those women who will collaborate in the formation of the policy of the Social Democrats.

[Mitrofanov] According to what you say, Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Liberal Social Union, has the gates of the CSSD closed. Does this also apply to the chairman of the Free Democrats (Civic Movement), Jiri Dienstbier?

[Zeman] If he decided to join the CSSD and were willing to work in the sphere of foreign policy, in which he doubtlessly has a lot of experience, he would be welcome. On the other hand, a post in the previous party certainly is not a reason for a post in the CSSD.

[Mitrofanov] There is another feasible reservoir for the Social Democrats at the other end of the political spectrum. I am referring to the left bloc and the Party of the Democratic Left.

[Zeman] While the Party of the Democratic Left is undergoing a transformation that will necessarily bring it to the Social Democratic positions, the left bloc is a parliamentary party that departed from the communist ideology—granted some rare exceptions—more for reasons of personal animosity than its own conviction. The CSSD should convince the SDL that the existence of two social democratic parties next to one another is superfluous.

[Mitrofanov] At the same time, you would accept resolutions of the Central Executive Committee or Presidium expressing no-confidence in the left bloc?

[Zeman] The left bloc party does not have such membership even to warrant the discussion of this question. At the same time, we should not change into a cantankerous, quarrelsome group that will check newcomers for reasons other than their own specific past.

[Mitrofanov] Is there complete unity within the CSSD?

[Zeman] Of course, there is no total unity, and I would be surprised if there were such a thing. I would like us to be a party of personalities rather than of one man or woman.

[Mitrofanov] Will you, before the March congress, hold talks with Petra Buzkova as a representative of a certain group within the CSSD?

[Zeman] I would consider it even dangerous if I were the only candidate at the March congress for the chairmanship of the party. It is not up to me, however, to assess the qualities or shortcomings of the countercandidate.

Free Democrats Plan Another Election Try

95CH0025C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 25 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Kathleen Knox: "Free Democrats Trying for Comeback"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Judging by their October 14 press conference, the Free Democrats (SD) are still a force to be reckoned with.

Note-scribbling reporters packed the room, listening attentively as party leaders answered questions about crime, labor unions and a host of other topics.

Why does a party with no seats in parliament and 2 to 3 percent support in national polls, a few points higher in Prague, rate so much attention? To answer that, one needs only look at any film clip from the euphoric months following the 1989 revolution.

Among the party's leaders are the very people who captured the world's attention when they seized the reins of power from the communist government and visibly set the country on the track toward democracy. They were the ones who welcomed presidents, diplomats and even the pope to a newly free nation. They were Vaclav Havel's rear guard, internationally recognized missionaries for human rights.

And this may be their last stand.

"This is a final battle," said Ludvik Brunner, former prosecutor general and a candidate for Prague 1 mayor. "At our conference after the elections, we'll discuss the results and see whether we can continue as an independent party."

After just five years, the people who held the top posts in the post-revolution government are struggling to gain seats in local councils. They include former federal Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and former Czech Premier Petr Pithart.

In the 1992 federal elections that were Czechoslovakia's last, a polarized public failed to vote for the party's centrist, inclusive ways. The party, then called the Civic Movement (OH), failed to garner enough support to gain a single seat in parliament.

Before those elections, the OH held seven of 16 federal ministerial posts and seven of 19 Czech ones. Afterward, the movement found itself with no representation save 450 or so seats in local governments across the country. Today, it hardly even registers in opinion polls.

Judging from the polls, the party remains just as it was in 1992: long on name recognition and short on political savvy. Although it is still fronted by Dienstbier, one of the nation's most popular and trusted politicians, the party has been unable to translate that popularity into electoral success.

Dienstbier is currently seeking a job as Prague mayor. Polls predict he will lose to incumbent Mayor Jan Koukal, a rising star in the Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

SD member Pavel Rychetsky, a former federal deputy prime minister, rejected the suggestion that such positions were beneath the former national leaders.

"You can't split politics up into 'large' and 'small' these days," he said. "The Free Democrats are putting forward candidates for Prague's city assembly who were in ministerial positions two years ago. They don't consider (these posts) a political come-down."

He noted that Jacques Chirac, the former French premier, is now mayor of Paris.

Former Prosecutor General Brunner dismissed any hint of humiliation for the former government ministers, and added that the elections represent the first true test for the SD's policies.

The SD is fielding candidates in two-thirds of the country's municipalities. Brunner said the party could count on up to half a million votes.

"There are lots of people who were sorry we dropped out of parliamentary politics," he said. "Perhaps they don't think of it as an injustice, but as a political mistake. This (feeling) should make an appearance (at the elections)."

The SD is also counting on Dienstbier's appeal and the party's squeaky-clean, scandal-free record.

"I think we can convince people that if we return, we would guarantee decent politics," Brunner said.

The SD is not the only party with 1989 credentials. Members of the Civic Forum (OF) movement, which overthrew the communists, included current leaders of parties ranging from the ODS to the Social Democrats (CSSD). The OH, though, was perceived as the bearer of the revolutionary torch.

One piece of less impressive SD history has already proved troublesome for potential partners, however.

"The Free Democrats have not sorted out their financial obligations from their last election campaign," said Jiri Drabela, a deputy for the Czech-Moravian Center Party. The SD's debts are rumored to amount to around 40 million Kc ($1.5 million).

Klaus: Economic Transformation Not Yet Complete

AU1111083894 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Robert Dengler: "Systemic Transformation Has Not Ended Yet, Klaus Warned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Addressing a Civic Democratic Party [ODS] preelection conference in Brno on 6 November, ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus described as a "true danger of the time" the incomplete nature of the systemic transformation, the relative novelty, untested nature, and, hence, also a certain weakness of institutions, the disharmony between the rapidly acquired freedom and responsibility, the inability to harmonize expectations with realistic possibilities, and the encounter with world competition.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO whether his thesis about the incomplete nature of the systemic transformation was not at variance with his previous statement that the Czech Republic was already at the "fitness center," Klaus said at a news conference that he still insists that the Czech Republic has already moved from the waiting room, via surgery, toward rehabilitation. A weakened muscle must be strengthened from time to time, and rehabilitation does not mean that transformation has ended, he added.

"We do not need new political visions. These are, in the final analysis, at odds with today's visions and with the visions on which the ODS is founded," Klaus added, when assessing the ODS conference. (A call for the formulation of Czech society's new vision was recently made by President Vaclav Havel—editor's note.) According to Klaus's speech, the ODS is now subordinating itself to "the basic goal—mastering once and for all the difficult period of transition between communism and a free society with a market economy." He said that, "thanks to extensive decentralization, communities and towns are becoming the starting and, what is more, the most natural entity with which citizens identify and in which they realize themselves." This, according to Klaus, is how the ODS understands the term "authentic civic self-administration."

"We have also met here to gather new strength to be able to resist, confidently and with our heads raised, the growing avalanche of attacks, misinformation, and gross slanders that is rolling against us as the strongest and most distinct political party," Klaus declared. The conference, which, according to Klaus, "evoked a nice feeling of ODS unity," took place under the slogan "Entrust your community to the right hands."

A day earlier, after a meeting of the ODS Executive Council at Usti nad Labem, Klaus said: "We will continue to approach all questions and problems of life in the Czech Republic positively. We dislike the policy of a negative, destructive, and sometimes almost hate-filled view of the world."

In a panel discussion involving candidates for mayors, mayors, and some government members, Interior Minister Jan Ruml called for tolerance. He said that people "are constantly trembling with some kind of scarcely describable nervousness, some kind of an undefined uncertainty generated by the time in which we live." The reasons for it include, according to Ruml, fear of failure, fear for democracy, fear that something fundamental still needs to be done for the course of events to become irreversible, fear of unanswered questions, fear to ask. Ruml said that everyone is strongly stigmatized by life under communism, "irrespective of whether we were in passive resistance, served the regime, or fought it." According to ODS Executive Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak, the ODS has become a thorn in the flesh everywhere the force of arguments is missing. What is involved, in his opinion, are slander, stupidities, envy, and an endeavor to erode the ODS. He recalled Masaryk's appeal not to let oneself be demoralized by spokes put in one's wheels.

Parliament To Create Antidrug Commission

95CH0025B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 25 Oct 94 p 5

[Article by Emma McClune: "Will An Agency Revamp Stem Narcotics Flow?"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In response to long-running criticism from members of parliament, a new anti-drug commission will be set up to improve action against the influx of drug trafficking in the Czech Republic.

The commission will be made up of representatives from nine ministries who will have the power to make binding decisions concerning anti-drug policy.

Previously, the anti-drug commission was a body made up of police representatives that had the power only to suggest changes.

"The organizational change is largely due to the need to improve efficiency in this field," said Tomas Haas, secretary to the chairman of the commission. "The nature of the commission must change in accordance with the problem. Four years ago, we were a transit country, now we're a target country. Drug mafias are no longer using Czech borders to reach the West; they have found a market here."

In the early months of this year, the previous commission was the target of much criticism from members of parliament regarding the lack of cooperation between the anti-drug department of the police and the border police.

"The control of the smuggling of drugs is only one of the duties of the border police. It has to be carried out thoroughly and consistently (if it is to be) effective at all," said Karel Hracha, head of customs police in the border town of Dehtary.

"Of course, it was easier (to control drug trafficking) when the borders were closed," said Petr Lom, former minister of health and now a Civic Democratic Party (ODS) member of parliament. He said that "more repressive (action) must be taken."

Although Lom sees the increased authority of the new commission as an improvement, he believes it will lead to "better, but not perfect" anti-drug action.

"It's a question of money," he said. "The anti-drug financial budget (will have to reflect) the increase in committee authority to be more powerful."

Lom, along with other critics of the anti-drug committees, said the problem will not be solved by this new authority.

The anti-drug commissi[illegible]ll meet twice a month, but its decisions will be carri[illegible] out by anti-drug police.

"Cooperation between anti-drug and border police was, and still is, the problem," said Lom.

Others believe that only a tougher anti-drug line will reduce drug dealing.

At present, possession and use of addictive substances are not illegal. Only the sale and trafficking of these substances are grounds for an arrest, but the law is unclear as to how much of these substances one is allowed to possess for private consumption.

Consultations on Treaty With Hungary Take Place

AU1011201594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by "jl": "Reply Within Three Weeks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Another round of consultations between representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia and Hungary about the drafting of a basic treaty between the two countries took place in the Slovak capital yesterday. The Slovak draft, which, as is known, was presented to the Hungarian side in late July, serves as a basis for formulating the text of the treaty. Gabor Hars, representative of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, yesterday informed his Slovak counterpart, Juraj Migas, about the state of preparations for a Hungarian reply, which, following the prescribed consultations at the level of the pertinent Hungarian parliamentary and governmental structures, ought to be ready within three weeks. As we have learned from well-informed circles, experts on both sides are convinced that there is opportunity and goodwill to jointly formulate a text that would correspond to the interests of both contracting parties—that is, a text that would, among other things, define the inviolability of existing borders and guarantee the rights of ethnic minorities in the spirit of valid international documents.

Recent Meeting With Hungarians 'Unofficial'

AU1111183294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Nov 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "They Met Unofficially"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Foreign Ministry has expressed reservations about reports published in some dailies about an alleged consultative meeting between experts from the Slovak and Hungarian Foreign Ministries on the contents of the bilateral treaty. This statement was made yesterday by Jaroslav Chlebo, the director of the Foreign Ministry Press Department, at a meeting with reporters in Bratislava. He said that no talks between ministry experts were held, but an unofficial meeting was held at which nothing was settled. He said that the first meeting between experts from the two ministries took place at the beginning of August after the Slovak side had officially submitted the draft text of the agreement to the Hungarian side on 22 July. The almost three-month interval for the submission of comments on the Slovak text was deemed adequate by the Slovak Foreign Ministry. Therefore, it pressed the Hungarian side for the comments in a note sent on 10 October. It declared that the matter would be taken care of in two to three weeks. The explanation offered by the Hungarian side, that it is waiting for the appointment of a new Slovak Government, is not acceptable.

Foreign Ministry Attacks Csaky Statement

LD1011192294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Just a few minutes ago, we received a statement by the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Slovak Republic on statements made by Pal Csaky, Slovak deputy for the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, in Budapest.

Jaroslav Chlebo, the director of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry, issued a statement for the TASR, in which he stressed that both Slovakia and Hungary had many times expressed their interest in concluding a basic bilateral treaty. They have already begun to work on drafting the document.

According to the ministry, similar statements could unnecessarily traumatize the citizens of the two countries, especially the members of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia and the Slovak minority in Hungary.

Deputies Condemn Statement

LD1011192794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The allegations of Pal Csaky, the deputy chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, are intended to harm the good name of Slovakia abroad and threaten the interests of the state.

This is how Marian Andel, a deputy to the Slovak National Council reacted in a TASR interview to Csaky's address yesterday in Budapest. According to MTI, Csaky said that it would be madness if Hungary, in the current political situation in Slovakia, continued the talks on an interstate agreement.

Deputy Milan Ftacnik said Csaky's statements were surprising and inappropriately sharp. He said that the changes in the Slovak Government should not influence the talks on the agreement because the interest of the state was always superordinated to party interests.

Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray did not comment on Csaky's statements but stressed that he considered not only the conclusion of the basic treaty between Slovakia and Hungary but also departmental agreements to be inevitable.

Csaky on Statement

LD1011235994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Pal Csaky, the deputy chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and deputy of the National Council, a report by the Hungarian Press Agency subsequently transmitted by the TASR gives a one-sided and incomplete picture.

In an interview for TASR, Csaky explained that expressions used in the Slovak version of the report were exaggerated. However, he admitted in speaking to his Hungarian counterparts that he had expressed the view that at present he really did not consider it suitable to renew negotiations about a treaty between Slovakia and Hungary. As for the reason, he gave the fact that, at the moment, Slovakia did not have a government confirmed by the new parliament and that it was questionable whether a new government is to be formed in the near future, and of which political entities it would consist. Csaky also confirmed that he had expressed fears about the possibility that the situation in Slovakia could be brought to a head.

Jaroslav Chlebo, director of the press department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told a TASR correspondent that the truthfulness of the facts in the report were confirmed by a check at the Slovak Embassy in Hungary.

MOS Chairman Comments

LD1111173994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

In an interview with TASR, Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray said that he would not comment on Pal Csaky's statements. However, he took a stance on Slovak-Hungarian bilateral relations. He considers their improvement a priority. He also said that the conclusion of both the basic intergovernmental agreement and the interministerial agreements was inevitable for the sake of regional cooperation.

Our editor Dagmar Bazlikova asked Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] Chairman Laszlo Nagy what views are held by MOS.

[Begin recording] [Nagy] First, let me speak about our opinion on Slovak-Hungarian relations and the issue of the basic agreement. Whatever the situation, I consider it of the utmost importance that relations between our two countries—Hungary and Slovakia—are continuous and friendly. The present government, even though it is a government that has resigned but is remaining in office, is fully entitled to hold talks on the interstate agreement. [passage omitted]

[Bazlikova] Is it right to say that the Hungarian Coalition [formed by Coexistence, MOS, and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement] has not authorized Hungarian coalition deputy Csaky to express views on these matters?

[Nagy] I have only learned about his talks and views subsequently, from the press. Of course, when speaking about Slovak-Hungarian relations, the basic agreement and the situation in the Slovak Republic, Csaky did not express views held by the Hungarian coalition but, I assume, was expressing his own view. So far, the coalition has been functional in parliament, in particular, even though some problems have been encountered even there. [passage omitted] The views expressed by Csaky are not shared by MOS, and we disagree with the assessment of the situation as presented by him. [end recording]

Hungarian Parties Set Up Club of Deputies

AU1011172394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 5 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by "si": "Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: We Have Set Up Our Own Club of Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] Chairman Bela Bugar announced that the MKDH set up its own club of deputies yesterday. Pal Csaky became the club's chairman. The founding of the club comes in reaction to the founding of a club of deputies by Coexistence, the MKDH's coalition partner within the Hungarian Coalition, before the conclusion of mutual negotiations. However, this is not a sign of a split in the tripartite coalition, Bugar said. It is not yet known which of the two parliamentary clubs will be joined by Laszlo Nagy, the sole deputy representing the Hungarian Civic Party. The MKDH regards the establishment of its own club as a good opportunity to express its political views on parliamentary soil. According to Bela Bugar, cooperation within the framework of the Hungarian Coalition remains very good.

Moravcik Rejects Committee's Demands of Ministers

LD1111174594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by reporter Jarmila Tosecka on 11 November; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Toseck] The Economics, Privatization, and Enterprise Committee has adopted a resolution asking ministers to refrain from steps that are not in line with the interests of the Slovak Republic and of good manners. The issue at stake is that the decisions made by this government—that is, your government—should not tie the hands of the new government by being binding on it. Prime minister, what is your reaction to this?

[Moravcik] The requests made by the above-mentioned committee apply, first of all, to them. Let them behave in line with the interests of the Republic and with good manners. What they did on the night of 3 November has nothing in common with good manners and entailed many anticonstitutional elements. So, the words that were intended for the members of the government should rather be applied by them in a self-critical manner. They should apply to them. This is the message I would like to get through to them.

[Tosecka] To what extent can you perceive such a resolution adopted by a parliamentary committee being binding on you—that is, on the relevant ministry?

[Moravcik] This type of resolution is quite absurd. It has no value at all. We were sworn in by the president, and, in our oath, we said that we would act in line with constitutional laws and would defend Slovakia's interests. We are sticking with this pledge and will do so until the new government is formed.

As for relations between the National Council and the government, these are defined by laws. [passage omitted]

[Tosecka] Prime minister, let me change the subject. Here is a quote: Following the latest events, Slovak television and Slovak radio have lost the right to bear the title of public institution and have become institutions directed by a party body. These are the words of Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac.

Prime minister, do you agree with this opinion? [passage omitted]

[Moravcik] We will see very soon, maybe within a few weeks and certainly within months, whether this view is right. I would only like to draw attention to the fact that the procedure adopted in the formation of the Television and Radio Broadcasting Council was not fully in line with Article 31 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic because this article stipulates that the laws concerning political rights should be adopted in such a way as to create conditions for free competition between political parties. And, in this case, when we speak about television and radio news programs, we are speaking about the implementation of political rights. If the National Council made it possible for a single political group to submit its candidates for posts in the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council and did not allow other political parties to do so, the implementation of the law contradicts the Constitution. This is an essential problem. It is a problem of ethics and, at the same time, a purely political problem. Mr. Gasparovic's remarks to the effect that everything is in line with law and democracy are, in this case, a mockery of law and democracy.

[Tosecka] I would like to ask another question on this theme. Because Slovak television has canceled the regular Press Club program, the government has decided to brief the public about its intentions in Radiozurnal broadcasts and in the press. This is what Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac said. They talk about the government's intentions. But, in what sense are we talking today, on 11 November, of the intentions of the government? This is the government that, according to the NARODNA OBRODA commentator, is a temporary one. You yourself, Prime Minister, said a week ago that it will last only two weeks.

[Moravcik] The government continues to be in power. It is adopting and must adopt important decisions, and the state and its citizens should be informed about these decisions. If you consider, for example, the program of the last government session, there were many important documents there about which the citizens should be informed. That is the right to information that is guaranteed by the Constitution. If someone denies it, he is not doing the right thing, he is not acting according to the Constitution.

[Tosecka] The public was to some extent alerted by the latest—Wednesday's—statements by Pal Csaky, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH], in Budapest. As a former foreign minister and the current prime minister, how do you assess such and similar statements that directly harm Slovakia? What should the official reaction at home be now?

[Moravcik] Such statements are extremist, and I cannot tolerate extremism. My reaction is quite unequivocal. But I am not in favor of responding in kind to such a statement. It is not good to answer one extreme statement with another. Above all, as far as the specific question of the position of minorites is concerned, naturally extremism must be isolated. It must be named, but it would be very harmful for Slovakia if we reacted to this extreme with another extreme because we would be fanning nationalist sentiments, and nationalism is very harmful. Europe is afraid of nationalism because we can see what nationalism has done in former Yugoslavia.

Party Leaders View 3-4 Nov Parliament Events

AU1011214394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Martin Krno: "Dangerous Demonstration of Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Immediately after the second meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], we approached representatives of several political parties and movements and asked them for their opinion on the nontraditional nocturnal session of the Slovak parliament.

Jozef Prokes, honorary chairman of Slovak National Party [SNS]: I think that, following the walkout by deputies of the current government coalition, the second NRSR meeting took a very calm course and, considering the number of items on its agenda, worked productively. Did we miss our colleagues from the other parties? It is every deputy's right to decide whether to take part in a meeting of parliament. It is his right and a matter for his conscience.

Jan Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS]: Consider the situation that existed in our country, how property was being privatized and auctioned off. The general prosecutor and the Supreme Inspection Office were not carrying out their duties, and personnel changes were therefore inevitable. We supported these because our concern is the defense of our people's interests. We will not join the government, as we have repeatedly declared, but we are going to exercise control over it. We have now obtained conditions for that; we have acquired more posts for our people than we ever expected, and not just in parliament.

Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: It was, I believe, Mr. Meciar himself who once used the term "night of the long knives." The nocturnal exchange of people at the highest positions and their replacement by people from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the SNS, and the ZRS was not well thought out. Those who thought it would still be possible to come to an agreement with the HZDS in some way have lost this illusion. Last night demonstrated that the normalization period is coming back, that there are people who want to nationalize again. The democratic pillars we started to build will probably fall. The opposition must now come to its senses and agree on a joint course of action.

National Democratic Party Chairman Ludovit Cernak: The establishment of the parliamentary commission to investigate the alleged constitutional crisis of March 1994 has only one parallel in our history—the principle of the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia or Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. We consider the further democratic development and application of human rights in our country threatened. There is real danger of an evolution in the direction of totalitarianism.

[Ethnic Hungarian] Coexistence Movement Chairman Miklos Duray: I expected from the victorious movement and its colleagues a dangerous demonstration of power, but not in this form and in such a way. Further developments in parliament, where the HZDS with its allies can adopt and change anything, with the exception of the Constitution, are hard to predict. It is up to them whether they will continue to act in this way.

Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]: We knew that the HZDS-SNS-ZRS triangle would take advantage of its majority, but I cannot comprehend why such arrogance was necessary. Following the nocturnal privatization of March 1994, we have now experienced nocturnal purges, in which those removed from their positions were not even given a chance to express their opinions. All of the positive results achieved by the present coalition government with regard to Slovakia's foreign political position have effectively been abolished. This will have serious economic and social repercussions for the population. The SDL Executive Committee meeting on 5 November will probably convene a meeting of the Republican Council. In my opinion, the manner in which power was exercised in the NRSR last night does not constitute for our party a platform for cooperation. Certain limits must not be exceeded.

Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement: At the second NRSR meeting, HZDS, SNS, and ZRS deputies violated the Constitution in at least four cases: They passed a vote of no confidence in two ministers whose resignations had already been accepted by the president, did not provide sufficient grounds for the dismissal of the prosecutor general, and abolished sales contracts, which is allowed by neither the Civic Code nor the Constitution. After such steps, our Republic will be internationally isolated, and cooperation with foreign partners will decline. We will draw the attention of our population to all of the instances of unlawfulness in the NRSR, but we will also talk about them with our foreign friends. Let Mr. Meciar bear full responsibility for the situation into which he has cast Slovakia.

Democratic Union Chairman Jozef Moravcik: Regrettably, the signals indicating questioning of the principles of the law-governed state at the first meeting of parliament also manifested themselves very strongly at the second meeting. When information surfaced about the intention to dismiss several ministers, we expedited the government's resignation by several hours. We opted for this step in the endeavor to maintain a continuity of power until a new government is formed. If, notwithstanding our resignation, the NRSR decided to pass a vote of no confidence in two ministers, it acted at sharp variance with the Constitution. This would have been possible only through the passage of a new constitutional law by at least 90 deputies, which did not happen. There were also other violations of legislative norms concerning the NRSR rules of procedure and also indications of the restriction of media freedom.

Nocturnal National Council Session Unites SDL

AU1411111494 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Nov 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "The SDL Has Broken Off Talks With the HZDS on Coalition Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) has broken off talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on coalition cooperation. This decision was made by the SDL Executive Committee at its meeting on 5 November.

The Executive Committee (VV) condemned the undemocratic, almost aggressive, course of action adopted by deputies from the HZDS-Farmers' Party of Slovakia [RSS], the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] during the nocturnal session of parliament. The VV stated that the HZDS has not learned from its mistakes and is persisting in its typical style of politics. The method of wielding power displayed by it has exceeded the limit acceptable to the SDL.

The SDL, as a democratic and left-wing party, does not exclude the possibility of cooperation with those in the HZDS and the ZRS who reject undemocratic procedures and an authoritative style of government.

The VV SDL has called upon the HZDS-RSS coalition, which won the most votes in the elections, to form the new government speedily in view of its clear majority in parliament.

The events during the nocturnal session of the Slovak parliament have helped to unite the SDL leadership. This statement was made by L. Fogas after the VV SDL meeting. Chairman Peter Weiss expressed his conviction that the situation within the party is not such that it could split in two; a certain individual could be dissatisfied, at most. He said that former Economy Minister P. Magvasi revoked his statement to TA SR on 27 October in which he said that "he does not rule out his participation in an HZDS government, should a post be offered him." According to the SDL chairman, it is debatable whether the HZDS has any desire to form a government at all because it has assumed control over all of the bodies of executive power—decisions concerning which are made in parliament—changed the law on large-scale privatization, and taken over the National Property Fund.

SDL Issues Statement

AU1411111594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Nov 94 p 3

[Statement issued by the SDL Executive Committee following its meeting on 5 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Executive Committee of the Party of the Democratic Left [VV SDL] has assessed the domestic political situation following the first and second sessions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and has approved of the course of action pursued by SDL deputies in the common deputies' club. It condemns the undemocratic, almost aggressive, course of action adopted by deputies from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Farmers' Party of Slovakia [HZDS-RSS], the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers' of Slovakia [ZRS] during the nocturnal session. These deputies rejected the proportional principle and the professional principle and began to gradually fill all of the parliamentary and power-wielding posts, including in radio and television.

The VV SDL states that the HZDS has not learned from its mistakes and is persisting in its typical style of politics. The method of wielding power, witnessed by us, has exceeded the limit acceptable to the SDL.

Therefore, the VV SDL decided to break off talks with the HZDS on coalition cooperation. It has called for an SDL Republican Council meeting on 12 November, to which it will submit a proposal for the SDL's next course of action.

The SDL, as a democratic and left-wing party, will also continue to formulate its own policy and to cooperate with those who are willing to accept the fundamental democratic values and interests of Slovak citizens. It is not even ruling out the possibility of cooperation with those who in the HZDS and ZRS reject undemocratic procedures and an authoritative style of government.

The VV SDL thanks the Supreme Inspection Office chairman and the recalled members of the National Property Fund's bodies, the Slovak Television Council, and the Slovak Radio Council, who were nominated by the SDL, for their work.

The VV SDL expresses its complete support for its government members, who, despite the difficult situation, are also prepared to bear constitutional responsibility and resolve Slovakia's problems until a new government is appointed. It calls upon the HZDS-RSS coalition, which won the most votes in the elections, to form a new government speedily in view of its clear majority in parliament.

The VV SDL appeals to the SDL's members and supporters to take part in the local elections and to support its candidates for the posts of town and city mayors and councillors.

Rejects Talks With HZDS

LD1211191994 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We just received a phone call from our editor Tamara Valkova, who reports on the deliberations of the National Council of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. Good evening.

[Valkova] Good evening. Here is the report about a resolution adopted by the SDL National Council. I quote: The SDL National Council has decided that, in the situation when the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] continues to exercise power in a way that is unacceptable to the SDL, the SDL will not hold talks with the HZDS about its participation in the government.

This is the most important information so far. A press conference will follow.

HZDS Regrets Rejection

LD1211200694 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] reacting to the decision by the National Council of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and to the resolution by the National Council of the Democratic Union.

The HZDS has received with regret the information about the SDL National Council's decision not to continue coalition talks with the HZDS.

Unfortunately, the SDL has succumbed to the personal ambitions of some of its individual members and has not succeeded in adopting, in the situation that is critical for Slovakia, a brave decision—just like in the past, when a vote was taken on Slovakia's sovereignty, on the adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, and on the law on the separation of Czechoslovakia.

Not even today's decision by the SDL National Council has changed anything regarding the HZDS's offer to hold future talks with all of the political entities for which the stability of the Slovak Republic is important.

SDSS Pulls Out of Coalition Talks With HZDS

LD1211202094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Should the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], one of the coalition partners in the Joint Choice coalition, decide to go its own way and join the government, the coalition will, according to the coalition agreement, cease to exist. The coalition comprises the SDL, the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS], the Green Party of Slovakia, and the Farmers' Movement in Slovakia. Alternatively, the agreement of these political subjects on after-election cooperation will have to be reconsidered. SDSS Chairman Jaroslav Volf said this after the meeting of the SDSS Central Council.

Correspondent Dagmar Bazlikova has asked about other rulings of the SDSS council after its meeting.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified SDSS official] We unanimously decided that our practical policy had to represent a left-wing party, that we have to fully utilize our new position in the parliament so we can decide practical issues there. [passage omitted]

[Bazlikova] Did you reconsider your stance on coalition?

[SDSS official] We have not changed our essential approach to the talks. In the meantime, two parliamentary sessions have taken place. In our view, the framework of democratic tradition and correct parliamentary relations have been overstepped at these sessions. This, in our opinion, broke the framework of further coalition talks. Under these circumstances, the Central Council voted by a majority not to continue coalition talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Peasants' Party of Slovakia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meciar Stresses Interest in Coalition Government

LD1111223194 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Meciar, the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], met readers of KOSICKY VECER in the paper's club this afternoon to answer their questions.

He stressed that he was interested in forming a coalition government. He said that he did not want to govern through parliament and that this was why patient talks were under way with the Party of the Democratic Left and the Christian Democratic Movement. However, according to him, the Democratic Union was excluded from the talks.

The HZDS chairman confirmed that, during the first two sessions of parliament, nothing illegal had taken plac. However, some politicians simply did not want to respect the results of the elections.

Answering a question on why he had kept silent until now, Meciar said: An anti-Meciar policy had been waged for a long time, but, because I was silent, this motive disappeared.

We kept our talks on a certain level, waiting for the internal postelection development of parties to end. Only after this takes place will official talks and statements follow.

The HZDS chairman rejected the attitude of those people who ridicule the deputies for the Association of Workers of Slovakia, as well as that of the deputies who consider themselves to be more important than others, despite the fact that every vote is equal.

Parties Urge Speedy Formation

LD1311165594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Respecting the results of the early parliamentary elections to the National Council, the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU], the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] are calling on the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the parties that have joined it in forming a majority in the parliament to speedily form a new government.

In a joint statement on the current internal political situation, they stress that the continuing refusal to form a government and the HZDS's disproportionate delay in tackling the current situation can be explained only as an expression of an effort to change the constitutional system or an attempt to bring about another parliamentary election.

This is why DU, the KDH, and the SDL are calling on the HZDS not to prolong the tension in society and to form a new government.

At the same time, they assure the public that they will continue to exercise executive power properly till the forming of a new cabinet, thus fulfilling the oath the current government took before the president.

Meciar Wants New Talks

LD1311213694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has appealed for a new round of talks on forming a new Slovak Government. Martin Dorazin, our special correspondent in Bratislava, has the details:

[Dorazin] Citizens have told the politicians to agree, the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia said in the Slovak TV debate "Kroky." According to him, a new round of coalition talks should take place after the local elections, which will be held at the end of next week.

The HZDS, however, will not wait forever, Meciar stressed. The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] have a great chance to take part in the government. These two parties, however, have said that their participation in the government is unacceptable in the current situation. The KDH announced immediately that it was going into opposition, and the SDL insists on conditions that the HZDS did not fulfill and does not intend to fulfill.

Meciar therefore has to lean on the Association of Workers of Slovakia, which, however, refuses to enter the government. In this situation, Meciar does not intend to repeat old mistakes and to form, however formally, a minority government. The HZDS boss also warned against the spreading of unrest in Slovakia. According to him, student unrest is being prepared for 17 November, and Slovak society is altogether getting more and more radical. The situation may arise in which the social unrest that will come in 1995 may change into political unrest, and then we would all be swept away, Meciar said and recommended to his potential partners, and I quote: Do not be stupid, let us sit at the table and talk.

Head of NATO Joint Chiefs of Staff To Visit

LD1311180794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] General George Joulwan, chief of the NATO joint chiefs of staff in Europe, will arrive by air for an official visit to our country next Tuesday.

During the visit he will be received by President Michal Kovac and outgoing Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik.

In this connection, Gen. Joulwan said in an exclusive interview for TASR [Slovak News Agency] that it was a very positive fact that Slovakia was among the first to sign a Partnership for Peace framework document and that it took part in two joint exercises of the ground forces. Gen. Joulwan does not think Slovakia would not be among the first serious candidates for entry into NATO. He stressed that, although participation in the Partnership for Peace program does not give the participant countries any security guarantees as NATO member states, the partners may, if their country is threatened, ask NATO allies for consultations, and that is very important.

Gen. Joulwan refused to comment on the political situation in Slovakia following the early parliamentary elections.

Tuchyna on Visit to Allied Land Forces Europe

LD1011150894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Interview with Colonel General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of General Staff of the Slovak Army, by correspondent Peter Toman; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Toman] You were invited for a four-day visit by General Wilmink, the commander of allied land forces in Central Europe. What are the main conclusions of your talks with him and with other representatives of the land forces?

[Tuchyna] Gen. Wilmink invited me for a reciprocal visit because he has done some work this year in Slovakia. We discussed the current talks within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, and we explained other possible forms of cooperation because it is necessary to continue deepening this cooperation and to achieve a higher standard of cooperation. We agreed on that.

[Toman] Can you say specifically in what sphere the cooperation will take place?

[Tuchyna] I think that, for the time being, this is premature because plans are being prepared by both sides for next year, but we will continue with exercises by small units. We want to increase the level of operational training and other spheres. We talked about possible seminars and conferences on both sides.

[Toman] You also visited a U.S. simulator center. Is there a possibility of cooperation with the Slovak Army?

[Tuchyna] Yes, it is a remarkable center, although, in their view, it has outlived its era, and they want to modernize it. We agreed that some of our selected commanders would take part in the work of this center.

[Toman] At the end of the visit, you were a guest in the infantry center of UN peace forces' training. What did you see in this center that could possibly be applied in our country?

[Tuchyna] This infantry center is involved with the training of Bundeswehr peacekeeping forces, but it also trains other foreign armies. It is remarkable that it has perfectly thought out and prepared a method of overall training, and, what is most important, it has the corresponding training base. Cooperation has also been offered to us in this sphere. We are not giving up on this, but we are currently training our own units in a completely different way, We are training engineering units, and this is an infantry school.

[Toman] During your four-day visit, did you sign any agreements or treaties?

[Tuchyna] No, we did not. Our cooperation is continuing within the framework of the accepted presentation document within the Partnership for Peace program, so no other agreements need be signed.

Police Arrest Four With Weapons, Ammunition

AU1411134094 Bratislava SME in Slovak
11 Nov 94 p 10

[TA SR report: "They Transported Semtex"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 8 November, the police in Roznava district arrested three previously convicted men ages 59, 44, and 37, as well as a 20-year-old woman. In the vehicle of the oldest of the group it discovered 16.2 kg of Semtex 1 A, a 7.65-mm caliber revolver, and eight rounds of ammunition. During house searches, the police discovered larger quantities of illegally held ammunition of various calibers and detonators. The detainees are being prosecuted on charges of illegal weapons possession.

Spokesman: No Need for Position on U.S. Stand

LD1111203894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi, it is not necessary for the Hungarian Government to adopt a position on Washington's decision on the Bosnia embargo. However, Gabor Szentivanyi is of the view that the step might lead to a settlement of the crisis.

Horn: There Should Be No Reservations About Me

MS1111110994 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 11 Nov 94 p 31

[Report incorporating interview with Mr Gyula Horn, Hungarian prime minister by Nicholas Denton and Virginia Marsh; from the Financial Times survey of Hungary; date and place not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] There can be few better measures of the change in Eastern Europe than the evolving image of Gyula Horn. As foreign minister in the last Communist government five years ago, he was one of the liberators of the Communist bloc: the man who with a gesture of biblical proportions opened the Iron Curtain and let the East Germans go free.

Now, after four years in opposition, Mr Horn is back in government, this time as Hungary's Socialist prime minister. "There should be no reservations about the government or me personally," says Mr Horn. "We started the transition to democracy in the second half of the 1980s of our own free will, without any pressure. We began creating a multi-party system and the market economy. Now we want to carry this through to the very end."

But Eastern Europe has moved on even faster than Mr Horn. A progressive in the 1980s, the 62-year-old Mr Horn still reminds many of the past. "He doesn't fit into the new European political landscape," says Mr Janos Martonyi, former state secretary at the Foreign Ministry.

Anti-communists damn the prime minister for his participation in the "padded jacket" worker's militia that put down Hungary's 1956 uprising against Soviet rule. Even the 1994 version of Mr Horn provokes a shudder or two, at least among Hungary's influential intelligentsia. It may be unfair to judge by demeanour. But according to one prominent banker: "Wherever Horn appears, everyone thinks of a former communist. No matter what he says."

Hunched in his chair, chain-smoking, rarely meeting the eye, a short man in a prime ministerial office the size of a basketball court, Mr Horn fits the stereotype of the Communist apparatchik. When Mr Horn departs from his script, he has a good line in deadpan humour illustrated by a wry grin. But he can as easily lose his patience with questioning and abruptly terminate an interview.

Content is as much at issue as style. Mr Horn, born of a working-class Communist family, is still proud to call himself a leftwinger. But nowadays, he looks not to Marx as the fount of his socialism but to Pope John Paul II. "The head of the Catholic Church and the Vatican say capital is blind and deaf to social differences—that is why policymakers have to interfere."

The Socialist leader's left-leaning beliefs reflect the opinions of his constituency. Hungary had a communist government for four decades and egalitarian ideals remain strong. Many voters opted for the Socialists because they promised security and support for the losers in the transition.

These, not Budapest's chattering intellectuals nor judgemental westerners, are the people Mr Horn cares about. "My model is Janos Kovacs, the ordinary simple person on the street who can tolerate the zigzags that politicians make and tell what is genuine and what false."

Aides say he really means that. Uncomfortable in parliament and before western investors, Mr Horn nevertheless shows a real rapport with crowds that is rare among east European politicians. "These are my waters," he says. "I can really feel good among people." This popular touch makes Mr Horn in a sense a better democrat than his conservative predecessors who supported the idea that the people should rule in theory but were always disappointed in the character of the Hungarian masses.

Mr Horn is a talented operator behind closed doors as well as on the public stage. He doggedly held his party together when it seemed doomed to extinction. Now he plays the arbiter between technocrats, trade unionists and the myriad groups within the broad and heterogeneous governing party.

As foreign minister, Mr Horn visited the U.S. A former aide tells how a U.S. State Department official offered an insulting 15-minute audience. Mr Horn accepted, said his piece, smiled, got up and politely left the open-mouthed U.S. official after 10 minutes.

The genius of Mr Horn's tactics can be overdone. The prime minister has a tendency to make up policy on the hoof. "I think Horn is a disaster," says Mr Tamas Bacskai, chairman of Unicbank. "Improvisation is wonderful if it is done by Moliere, but he is not a good improviser."

Nevertheless most people, whatever their criticisms, share the view of Mr Janos Bartha, managing director of CS First Boston in Budapest. "I think that Horn is an absolutely professional politician," he says.

The question is whether the Socialist premier can be not just a consummate politician but a leader too: one who can understand Hungary's economic plight and convince the people to accept unpopular measures.

Mr Laszlo Urban, economics spokesman of the opposition Young Democrats, has his doubts: "He lets conflicts emerge, evaluates whose position is what and then tries to please everybody." Even the government spokesperson concedes that Mr Horn likes to be liked.

That makes the prime minister somewhat unpredictable, a bit of a weather vane, but not necessarily a man without principle.

Mr Horn's socialism is of the born-and-bred variety. But he has another vision which sits uneasily with his ideological conviction. "Perhaps it might sound like a kind of slogan," he says, "but I want a Hungary which does not differ from the developed countries."

But that line has become a cliche in Eastern Europe and does not impress many Hungarian opinion leaders. "I don't think he has a vision beyond Saturday, no, make that Friday," says Mr Laszlo Csaba of the Kopint-Datorg economic research institute.

Visionary leadership, however, may count for more in the confused countries of the former Communist bloc than in the settled west. Mr Vaclav Klaus appears to have made a real difference for the better in the Czech Republic.

In Mr Bacskai's view, Hungary also had an "outstanding statesman" in Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Communist party between 1956 and 1988. "In 50 years a country is lucky to have one such man," the banker says. Hungary, he suggests, has run out of its allocation.

NATO Official: No Grudge Against Hungary

AU1111142394 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Nov 94 pp 1,9

[Interview with NATO Deputy Secretary General Sergio Balanzino by Eva Elekes in Budapest on 10 November: "NATO Is Not Mad at Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The NATO does not bear a grudge against Hungary for not participating in this year's joint military exercise in the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. However, NATO counts on Hungarian participation in the future—NATO Deputy Secretary General Sergio Balanzino told us. Sergio Balanzino started an official visit to Hungary on 10 November.

Sergio Balanzino held talks with parliamentary Speaker Zoltan Gal at the parliament and with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti at the Defense Ministry. This is the last high-level coordination before the signing of the Hungarian peace-partnership offer in Brussels.

[Elekes] How did NATO receive the U.S. proposal to accelerate the integration of Central-Eastern European countries into the North Atlantic community?

[Balanzino] I must say that we have only heard now about such a U.S. proposal. We are also curious to know the concrete contents of this proposal. The "flow of ideas" or the internal consultations about concrete ways of enlarging the Alliance have just begun within NATO. We will discuss these ideas at our upcoming meeting in Brussels in December, and we have already prepared the schedule of internal talks that will precede the aforementioned meeting. However, the Americans have not yet put any concrete proposal on the table.

[Elekes] Nevertheless, what is the reaction of the member states to the idea of accelerating the joining of other states?

[Balanzino] We predict that we will discuss the preconditions for the joining of other states in December, and we will have to tell them what rules and obligations they have to submit to if they want to join the club. I cannot tell, however, how much time individual states need to become full members from the current state of peace partners. I cannot say that country A can join in 1998, or country B can join in 1999. It is too early to speak about a concrete schedule.

[Elekes] There have been signals according to which NATO members bear a grudge against Hungary for failing to participate in certain joint peace partnership exercises.

[Balanzino] It would be a mistake to speak about grudges. Of course, there have already been three joint exercises in the framework of the Partnership for Peace; two land exercises and one naval exercise. We understand that Hungary could not participate because of budgetary problems. At the same time, we count on the Hungarians' participation in the next exercises, or at least in a few upcoming exercises. If Hungary failed to participate in these exercises—and I speak here absolutely hypothetically—this would show that the Partnership for Peace program does not mean much to you. However, we do not expect this. We hope that Hungarian troops will also be present at the planned joint exercises.

[Elekes] Did you discuss the plan for joint exercises at your meetings?

[Balanzino] I have not brought any special message from Brussels, except for the coordination of general ideas. The timing of the next exercises in the framework of the Partnership for Peace program is ready, and it depends on Hungary in which exercise it wants to participate. We do not want to force any schedule on you, and we do not want to decide for the Hungarians.

Bank Governor Rejects Monetary Union With FRY

AU1011182394 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Ernest Ruzic from Budapest]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dr. France Arhar, governor of the National Bank of Slovenia, indicated that in the presence of a third party, most probably the governor of the National Bank of Hungary, he will be holding talks with Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic [governor of the FRY National Bank] this afternoon. Namely, he is convinced that many open issues and problems from the past have been left open that need to be discussed sooner of later. Among these issues are bilateral problems, such as the division of assets, and matters that involve other countries, such as debts and obligations of the former Yugoslavia.

Slovenia is interested in holding talks about monetary and financial issues not merely with the FRY, but also with all the countries on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Dr. France Arhar places the announced meeting in a wider context of similar meetings in Europe; however, he does not expect concrete agreements from the first talks. [passage omitted]

The Slovene governor rejects speculations that Dr. Avramovic may suggest recreating a monetary union with the former Yugoslav republic.

When I told this to Dr. Avramovic, he merely smiled. However, he declined to say anything more substantial either for the Slovene or the Serbian media, which are also reporting celebration of the 70th anniversary of the National Bank of Hungary. [passage omitted]

FiDeSz Contrasts Ministries' Stands on NATO

LD1011133194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Federation of Young Democrats [FiDeSz], the stands of the foreign and defense ministries are not the same concerning Hungary's accession to NATO. This was the conclusion drawn by Zoltan Rockenbauer, parliamentary deputy of Fidesz, from statements made by Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti. Vera Klemanovics has the details:

[Klemanovics] According to the Young Democrats, Hungarian foreign political developments demonstrate that Hungary's approaching to NATO only exists in rhetoric. In practice, it seems as if the government would be delaying this process. Zoltan Rockenbauer, deputy and member of the parliament's foreign affairs committee evaluated as unprecedented that Hungary, while approaching the North Atlantic Alliance, has not participated in any of the three military exercises organized within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. He considers that it is a feeble excuse to say that Hungary is short of money when the Romanians, Czechs, and Estonians had participated in the joint action.

Rockenbauer stressed that several Hungarian delegations have visited NATO headquarters in Brussels, and that the absence of the Hungarian Army from these exercises was remarked on there every time. As a first step to clarify the government's policy on NATO, the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee invited Gyorgy Keleti to provide an answer regarding the absence of Hungarian soldiers from the joint military exercises.

Environmental Damage at Airport, Lake Balaton

95P20148A

[FBIS Media Note] Attempts to deal with serious environmental damage at Lake Balaton are apparently stymied because of financial problems, but progress has been made on cleaning up the severely polluted soil and groundwater near Hungary's main airport, reported two items in the 19 October issue of the daily NEPSZABADSAG.

Under the headline "The Balaton Is in Danger!" the paper published an appeal by the Balaton Research Foundation's Board of Directors saying that the quality of the water in Lake Balaton—Central Europe's largest lake—"has deteriorated catastrophically." Because "neither the government nor the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has enough money to conduct the basic research on saving the lake," the foundation appealed for tax-deductible donations from domestic individuals and groups, as well as for financial help from abroad, to support the "scientific investigations" that are the essential first steps toward reversing the damage.

After a slow beginning, the Hungarian airline Malev is cleaning up the 2,600 cubic meters of kerosene that pollutes the Pestlorinc area near Budapest's Ferihegy Airport, reported an article in NEPSZABADSAG. Saying that "hardly anything" has been publicized about the kerosene even though it is "one of the biggest environmental pollution" problems in the capital, the article reported that "for decades" airplane fuel from Malev "conduits" seeped into the soil. In the early eighties Malev installed "closed pipes" to stop the seepage, but kerosene that was already in the soil "continued to spread at the rate of 30-50 meters per year," causing further damage. In March 1993 the Central Danube Valley Environmental Protection Inspectorate "ordered" Malev to clean up the pollution by December 31, 1995, the daily said. After a year of false starts with other contractors, Malev hired the Eotvos Lorand Geophysical Institute, which had cleaned up the former Soviet airfields in Debrecen and Mezokovesd, to remove the kerosene. Since June 1994 the Institute has cleansed a hundred cubic meters of groundwater, putting the cleansed water back into the soil along with a "special enzyme mixture that promotes the breakdown" of the remaining fuel. According to NEPSZABADSAG, the project's manager says that although Malev lost a valuable year by not employing the Institute from the start, he is "confident" the kerosene has stopped spreading and the Institute will be able to complete the cleanup.

Deputy Appointed Acting Defense Minister

LD1011171594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1534 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Nov—Jerzy Milewski, first deputy minister and secretary of state in the Ministry of National Defense, will be in charge of the ministry until a new minister of national defense is appointed, Mariusz Kosieradzki, deputy head of the government press office, said today.

According to Kosieradzki, Milewski was asked to consult on "important decisions" directly with the prime minister.

Jan Kuriata Rumored To Replace Kolodziejczyk

LD1011172394 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has accepted the prime minister's request to recall Piotr Kolodziejczyk from the post of national defense minister. We have learned from unofficial sources that Piotr Kolodziejczyk will be replaced by General Jan Kuriata.

Oleksy Disagrees With Kolodziejczyk's Dismissal

LD1011204494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy did not agree with reasons for the dismissal of the civilian head of the Ministry of Defense. He stressed that, as a member of the National Defense Committee, he knew his position, and the reason for dismissal was the least appropriate one. Sejm Speaker Oleksy said that he saw Kolodziejczyk's dismissal as a sensation. The Sejm speaker noted the impressive speed with which Prime Minister Pawlak made this decision.

Coalition Criticizes Dismissal

LD1111213594 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] Leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] are accusing Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak of blatantly infringing the coalition agreement in connection with the dismissal of Minister of National Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk. This dismissal had not been consulted with the leaders of the left-wing party, and Kolodziejczyk himself described it as an outcome of political games.

[Correspondent Bogdan Ulka] The former defense minister, who met the newly appointed generals this morning, said that the prime minister's allegations in connection with his dismissal were groundless. In the note sent to the president, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak wrote that the head of the Ministry of National Defense had not obeyed instructions issued by the National Defense Committee regarding the normalization of the situation in the Defense Ministry.

[Begin Piotr Kolodziejczyk, former Minister of National Defense recording] It cannot be substantiated. If I can express my regrets, it simply boils down to the fact that, during the past month, the prime minister could not find any time to hold a matter-of-fact discussion with me about the problems that had been raised by the Sejm National Defense Committee. I am not talking about the source of all those conflicts. Therefore, it was simply an element of some political game and not an attempt to resolve problems we have been facing. [end recording]

[Ulka] The minister's dismissal evoked a resolute reaction from the leaders of the Alliance [SLD].

[Begin Jerzy Szmajdzinski, secretary-general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] recording] Written and unwritten principles for cooperation of the coalition have in this case been blatantly violated. Well, this decision had neither been consulted with us nor were we told about it. [end recording]

[Ulka] A meeting of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the SLD parliamentary floor groups is scheduled for Tuesday. This meeting was planned before Kolodziejczyk's dismissal.

[Begin Szmajdzinski recording] First, we have to obtain answers to several questions. One of them is about the real reasons for Piotr Kolodziejczyk's dismissal. The second one: Does the prime minister realize all the consequences, internal and external, connected with this decision? In my opinion, these consequences are not to be treated lightly. [end recording]

[Ulka] The president did not want to talk today about the minister's dismissal.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What should the new defense minister be like?

[President Lech Walesa] Better than the previous one.

[Correspondent] But what does this mean?

[Walesa] Didn't I tell you enough? [end recording]

[Ulka] According to unofficial information broadcast by Polish Radio Third Program, Jan Kuriata, the present deputy defense minister for military infrastructure and armaments, is tipped to become the new head of the ministry. However, Minister Kuriata claims that so far nobody put forward such a proposal to him.

Ex-Minister Blames 'Intrigue' for Dismissal

LD1111135794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1147 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 11 Nov—Piotr Kolodziejczyk, dismissed on 10 November from the post of national defense minister, told journalists today at a meeting in the Ministry of National Defense [MON] that his dismissal was "a part of some political intrigue."

Kolodziejczyk, as a private person, took part in the morning meeting between the MON leadership and Polish Army officers who were promoted on Independence Day. He spoke to the journalists about his dismissal: "The prime minister's accusation (the prime minister dismissed him for failing to implement State Defense Committee resolutions on the normalization of the situation in MON) has no basis in fact and was a part of some political intrigue and not an attempt to solve problems on their merits."

The former national defense minister expressed regret that the prime minister, for a whole month, had not found the time to talk to him about problems that were also discussed by the Sejm Defense Commission.

Asked if he would continue to play at politics, Kolodziejczyk said: "I never played at politics. If I got involved in politics, it was only the state defense politics. I do not have the temper of a politician, and I am not going to get involved in it. I can assure you of that."

The whole civilian leadership of the ministry and Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki took part in the meeting in MON. [passage omitted]

Nationalist Leader Begins Presidential Campaign

LD1111212894 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Relay from Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Boleslaw Tejkowski will run for the office of president. The leader of the Polish National Community—the National Party—began his election campaign in Wroclaw today during the demonstration staged by the skinheads.

[Begin correspondent Albert Bystronski recording] About 200 sympathizers of the Polish National Community gathered on the Wroclaw Market Square. Boleslaw Tejkowski, in uniform, said that he would run for president. [passage omitted]

Boleslaw Tejkowski announced on Wroclaw Market Square: If I become president, I will nationalize the industry and drive the Jews and the Germans away. Then, sympathizers of the Polish National Community ceremoniously burned the flags of the European Union and the United States. [Crowd chants: Down with the Jewish oppression! Down with the Jewish oppression!]

Under the watchful eye of the police, the Wroclaw skinheads and Boleslaw Tejkowski set off from the square and proceeded to the Monument of the Stalinist Victims. This time there were no problems. [end recording]

ZChN: Government Yielding to Russia's Dictate

LD1011150594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1254 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Nov (PAP)—The Christian National Union [ZChN] blames the president and the government for the lack of reaction to the calling off of the visit to Poland by the Russian prime minister. Ryszard Czarnecki, the acting chairman of the ZChN, told journalists today that Russia wants to use this fact, among others, to win a better position in the Polish-Russian economic negotiations and to show Poland "its place in the rank." The ZChN also protests the plans to admit Germany to the UN Security Council.

According to Czarnecki, the lack of practical reaction by the Polish authorities to the fact of calling off the visit to Poland by Viktor Chernomyrdin has been "astonishing and scandalous." "This is the reaction of the ostrich," the ZChN leader said. He described the cancellation of the visit as a litmus test of Poland's behavior now and in the future.

"The president and the government should have adopted a calm but clear and resolute position. Failing to do so is going to encourage the Russians, who, by canceling the visit in such way, want to show Poland its place in the rank and the West that our country is still a part of the Russian sphere of influence," Czarnecki said.

The ZChN Chairman added that it was a mistake that the Polish Government did not propose to Russia the zero option in debt reduction and financial dues on both sides. The cancelation of the visit is, in Czarnecki's view, particularly unfavorable to Polish enterprises that count on a reduction of Polish debts.

In the coming days, the Union will send a letter to the government demanding that the Polish delegation oppose the admission of Germany to the UN Security Council as a permanent member. According to Czarnecki, it would strengthen both the economic and political position of Germany, and this does "not correspond with the Polish raison d'etat." At the same time, the ZChN will protest the planned liberalization of regulations on the purchase of land in Poland by foreigners. According to the Union's information, the land in western and northern Poland has been purchased mostly by Germans.

URM Comments on Cabinet, 'Wiadomosci' Mistake

WS1011154794 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10-11 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "Government Will Get Its Ears Frozen in Spite of Television"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Michal Strak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], conceded yesterday that the government postponed publication of an important statement to stress the mistake made by the "Wiadomosci" television newscast.

On Wednesday of last week the main "Wiadomosci" newscast reported that the government had taken a stand on the fact that Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin canceled his visit to Poland. However, this was not true. The government had not issued a statement by 1930 [when the "Wiadomosci" newscast started].

"Wiadomosci" explained that the employees of the Government's Press Office had already circulated the planned statement among journalists. Just before the newscast was to be broadcast, it turned out that the government had not finally accepted this stand. Thus, an appropriate correction was made. However, the computer failed to register it.

The government was outraged and the prime minister called this mistake a cosmic affair [kosmiczna afera]. Strak and Deputy Prime Minister Cimoszewicz even summoned the president of Polish Television to URM.

"We have experienced more such instances. However, we never had such obvious evidence," said Minister Strak yesterday, in an interview with Warsaw Radio "Eska." He did not try to conceal his satisfaction.

He admitted quite openly: "At this point, I can tell you a secret. The government on purpose ordered that the statement be published on the following day. It wanted this mistake of 'Wiadomosci' to be visible to the naked eye, in a manner of speaking. Thus, the government did issue a statement. However, it was passed on to the press on the following day."

"It would really be bad if official international relations depended on what was reported on an information program. The program may be more important than other such programs, but it is still only a newscast," commented "Wiadomosci" Head Adam Pieczynski, who was visibly outraged, in reaction to the Strak statement.

Polish Television President Wieslaw Walendziak declares that he does not believe that "the state's foreign policy might be subordinated to minor arguments between politicians and journalists."

Walesa Urges Acceleration of Reform

LD1011130794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1125 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Nov—President Lech Walesa, who is a guest at the first national congress of the BBWR [Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms] in Warsaw, has said that the reforms in Poland are being stalled. The president called for the establishment of a grand accord of all of the political forces that do not want the reforms to collapse.

Walesa said that Poland was approaching a crucial moment and that the current and the next year would show what kind of future lay ahead. Are we going to shake ourselves out of stagnation, subdue disorder, and make a quick move forward, or are we going "to swing from one side to the other" and "make ourselves believe that this is the sign of a speedy ride"?

"I am afraid the second option is becoming more and more real. There are forces and people who are very anxious to do just that. They put on the clothes of defenders of democracy, but they criticize political solutions and keep the democratic state institutions in a permanent grip. They talk about a free market while handing more and more economic decisions over to civil servants. We are threatened with a paralysis of the state authority and with the unlimited power of the old boys' network," the president said.

Calling for the agreement of all political forces that do not want the reforms to collapse, the president warned that the history of Poland might go full circle, and freedom and democracy could appear merely as a setting in which the people and forces of the old system would govern.

Jerzy Gwizdz Elected Chairman of BBWR

LD1011172094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1609 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 10 Nov—Deputy from Nowy Sacz Jerzy Gwizdz on Thursday was elected new chairman of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], a PAP journalist learned. [passage omitted]

Bogdan Pek's Successor Still Unknown

WS1011135094 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by "(dom, wz)": "Who Will Replace Bogdan Pek?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Freedom Union [UW] cannot determine who will take the place of Bogdan Pek, Polish Peasant Party [PSL], whom they have recalled as head of the Sejm Privatization Committee. The SLD wants Marek Olewinski for the post, while UW wants Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. Meanwhile, Pek is rubbing his hands with satisfaction. "I doubt whether they will reach an agreement," he told us yesterday. "It is quite possible that the committee will again be chaired by a PSL member. Perhaps I will return to this post..."

The committee is to elect its new chairman on 15 November.

Mobilization of Peasants

The peasants want to win the battle over Pek. For example, they want to increase the number of their deputies in the Sejm Privatization Committee. Right now the configuration of forces in the committee is the same as in the entire Sejm. However, each club has a "reserve of deputies" (10 percent of its composition); it can delegate these deputies to various committees. The peasants want to seize this opportunity. They are hoping that they will be followed by the clubs of the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms, which were against the recall of Pek.

The position of the PSL is strengthened by the conflict between UW and the SLD. The peasants are hoping that jthe SLD will not reach a compromise with UW and that it will have to make concessions to the PSL: It will agree to the restoration of Pek to his post or give its backing to another peasant—Marian Krol (former Poznan voivode of the United Peasant Party, recalled by Tadeusz Mazowiecki).

For the time being, the peasants are trying to defeat the SLD in a war of propaganda. The communique issued yesterday by the PSL parliamentary club suggests that the purpose of the recall of Bogdan Pek was to cover up the issues of Bank Slaski and Bank Handlowy. Pek believed that responsibility for the corrupt practices in the former affair should be borne by former Finance Minister Marek Borowski of the SLD.

PSL's Revenge

The conflict within the committee will be debated today by the PSL leadership. Pek does not think that his party's leadership will threaten the SLD to break up the coalition. He does, however, expect "some firm statement."

Asked about the future of the coalition, Pek merely stated: "The clock began ticking; the countdown has begun."

Off the record, PSL deputies are saying that UW will not go unpunished for the recall of Pek. They are threatening to dismiss Bronislaw Geremek from the post of Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee chairman and Piotr Buczkowski from the position of Territorial Self-Government Committee head.

Everyone Is Stubborn

Meanwhile, the talks between the SLD and UW are not yielding any results. UW deputies exclude the possibility of supporting the SLD candidate. "The committee controlling the SLD Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek would be headed by an SLD chairman. This is inadmissible," says the committee's acting chairperson, Grazyna Staniszewska.

However, the SLD is not budging an inch. It does not want to back Frasyniuk. It recalls that UW already has its Warsaw mayor thanks to cooperation with the SLD. There is also fear for the coalition with the PSL (before the budget debate). It was probably the last factor that made Marek Borowski tell journalists yesterday that the SLD is ready for negotiations with the PSL. He did not rule out the possibility that the new chairman of the committee might be a peasant. He added immediately, however: "There are also appropriate candidates in the SLD."

Daily Comments on Deputy Pek's Activities

WS1011130694 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Nov 94 p 1

[Commentary by Piotr Zaremba: "How Correct Are Pek's Arguments?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The coincidence of Bogdan Pek's downfall and the information of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] on Bank Slaski is an edifying spectacle. Let us hazard a guess: Deputy Pek may be right on some issues; on others he may be wrong.

The militant peasant spoke a lot about pathological phenomena in privatization. Even very insignificant mentions of them have been drowned out since 1989 by overeager people. Many so-called reformers reacted hysterically even to the word "affair." Sometimes they did it with all the good intentions in the world, sometimes to the contrary.

Pek is leaving at a moment when there is a shadow of suspicion on the people whom he attacked. People will interpret this quite obviously: The only just man has been destroyed.

At the same time, his statements confirm the suspicion that, to put it mildly, he is not an enthusiast of privatization, especially privatization with the participation of foreign capital. What is more, as a Sejm deputy he was concerned about other, "nonprivatization" pathological phenomena that were investigated by NIK—the provision of additional financing to Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej or the establishment of the Economic Development Agency by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Minister Leslaw Podkanski.

However, it is a misunderstanding to put the entire blame for the slow pace of privatization on Pek. It is not the Sejm committee but the government, especially Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek's [Privatization] ministry, that makes the policy in this area. Meanwhile, not only the PSL but also a considerable part of the Democratic Left Alliance would be willing to slow down privatization. The effects can easily be seen.

From the point of view of a sound economy, even Solidarity governments carried out privatization too slowly. Paradoxically, the ideology that said all affairs are only an invention of the mind did not help them at all. On the contrary, it was the best argument for such politicians as Bogdan Pek.

UW Presidium Member Excludes SLD Coalition

WS1011151594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with UW Presidium Member Jan Litynski by Igor Zalewski and Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "We Are Not Going Along With the SLD"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The Freedom Union [UW] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] have been cooperating closely recently. You are jointly governing Warsaw, and you jointly recalled Bogdan Pek, head of the Sejm Privatization Committee. Is this going to end in a nationwide alliance?

[Litynski] These developments do not influence the general political situation. Now, even if they did, such statements as the one by Andrzej Celinski in GAZETA WYBORCZA would not be a good antidote to an alliance with the SLD. He says that it is UW's task to make governing difficult for Pawlak and Strak by supporting Kwasniewski, Borowski, and Szmajdzinski. This certainly is not UW's task.

There is no reason to believe that a coalition with the SLD is going to be formed.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] However, you have a joint mayor of Warsaw. Now, why should you not have its counterpart for all of Poland?

[Litynski] In self-governments, you simply must seek the broadest platform of agreement. I must concede that the style in which the mayor of Warsaw was elected was scandalous. This applies to all groupings. The entire political elite became discredited. If it had not been for the style, the Warsaw accord would be really acceptable.

In Warsaw, the best possible configuration would be a coalition that would also include the right—that is, the Covenant for Poland. However, I am disappointed at the stand taken by this grouping, which decided not to join a broader coalition.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] However, did UW violate the agreement with the PdW [expansion unknown] by forming a coalition with the SLD?

[Litynski] The violation was automatic, when talks with the SLD began. The Covenant turned out to be not flexible enough.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] However, before that, UW leaders—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, for instance—claimed that in such cities as Warsaw there could not be a coalition with a governing party. Should an oppositional party establish ties to a governing grouping in such a spectacular manner? And a grouping whose origin dates back to the Polish People's Republic at that?

[Litynski] In Walbrzych Voivodship, where I was elected a deputy, two coalitions between Solidarity and the SLD were established. This shows that ideological divisions are not significant in local configurations. This certainly does not mean, however, that programmatic divisions have ceased to exist. There are quite fundamental programmatic differences between the SLD and us.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Does this mean, however, that the alliance formed in Warsaw is not of a programmatic nature?

[Litynski] It is, but it does not follow from the political program. This is an agreement formed in the interest of the city. It is possible to form coalitions on the level of the territorial self-government, which are separated from political factors.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] I will repeat the question: Inasmuch as you were able to reach agreement in Warsaw, is it not possible to reach a nationwide agreement?

[Litynski] No, it is not because, at the city level, you can prepare an apolitical program of development. However, you cannot make a similar alliance at the national level.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you not think, however, that UW's activities in Warsaw and its behavior on the occasion of the recall of Bogdan Pek make the SLD seem to be a proreform grouping? By doing so, UW is cutting the branch on which it sits.

[Litynski] I do not repeat what my colleagues are saying about the "reformatory" wing of the SLD, headed by "reformatory" Szmajdzinski. Indeed, there are people there with whom one can talk. However, the program presented by this party as well as the activities of its ministers, perhaps with the exception of Minister Barbara Blida, are all antireform steps resulting in stagnation.

Before a programmatic accord can be reached, I must see what they have accomplished. Now, most of them are not doing anything. What they are submitting in the Sejm, in many cases, raises objections; sometimes what they submit there are legislative freaks. The budget the SLD minister has prepared is passive, and we will never accept it. As for the area with which I am dealing, social assistance, there is not even one draft law that would speed things up, but there are a lot of ideas that move us away, for example, from the reform of social insurance.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Nonetheless, because you recalled Pek together, perhaps you have similar views on privatization, at least?

[Litynski] There are areas in which our views do not differ that much any longer. For example, the issue of powiats [small administrative units]. It is a good thing that the SLD has taken a stand that supports the idea of self-governments. However, we have different views on the Self-Governmental Assembly [Sejmik Samorzadowy]. The SLD backed Senate Speaker Adam Struzik, and he instead of Professor Kieres, an expert, was elected chairman of the assembly.

As for privatization, the things Minister Kaczmarek is saying are reasonable. However, what can this change if no concrete measures are taken? The Ministry of Privatization is not getting anywhere.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] That means that there are more things that repel you from the SLD than things that attract you. Is that right?

[Litynski] We still differ with the SLD both as far as our program and mentality are concerned. As Wojcich Arkuszewski put it: Our ministers were better or worse. However, all of them wanted to change things. The present ministers have come to the ministries and, in most cases, are doing what ministers before 1989 did: They do not want to change anything. This is the fundamental difference.

Until this mentality is changed, which I do not think will happen soon, a coalition is out of the question.

There are people in UW who quite openly or less openly support such an alliance. It is better when they are doing it openly because then it can be seen that their desire to form an alliance with the SLD is caused by some unfounded love. It is possible that contacts with some SLD leaders can be pleasant. However, cooperation must be based on joint programs and work in the Sejm. If someone is not doing anything in parliament, he can think that a political alliance is an informal alliance.

Results of 6th Solidarity Congress Discussed

95EP0008A Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 41, 8 Oct 94 p 4

[Article by Jagienka Wilczak: "Together, Old Friends; Solidarity Is Growing in Strength"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The president's visit to the Sixth Congress of Solidarity in Mielec could be viewed as starting the electoral campaign. The campaign slogan was conceived by Walesa in his usual pithy language: "The left [leftist] paw is too long; it hinders our reforms." He proposed to Solidarity members a uniting of effort and a common struggle of the post-Solidarity camp against the inertia of the government, the slowdown of the reforms, and the specter of a reborn Polish People's Republic menacing the country. The elections are to be a stage in that struggle.*

Why did Walesa decide to show up before the delegates, even though his relationship with Solidarity has long been cool and even, since the congress in Zielona Gora (when he got insulted and did not attend), poor if not hostile? Well, the president is aware that only Solidarity's support rather than that of the feeble BBWR [Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms] can assure his win in the coming election. Anyway, he showed a keen sense of the right moment. At Mielec, both Chairman Marian Krzaklewski and the delegates bluntly voiced their dissatisfaction with the economic, social, and political situation and with the governance by the ruling coalition. They issued a distinctive declaration representing a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Pawlak and his administration, adopted in the form of a resolution and commonly accepted, which even recommended dissolution of the government. Walesa added the threat that the time for joking is over. Solidarity refused to accord Walesa support guaranteed by a political contract, but it did not reject the proferred handshake. Although Solidarity leaders accuse the president of some fecklessness, they, at the same time, are aware that nowadays they need him as much as he needs them. After all, he has the veto power and the right to initiate legislation. If he wishes, he can rapidly utilize these instruments to meet Solidarity's expectations.

Solidarity's strength is growing. It is again attracting people who are dissatisfied with pay raises, with the suspension of mass privatization, with the failure of the ruling leftist government to keep its promise of universal ownership empowerment, and, more recently, also with the attack on press freedom and the attempt to restrict trade union rights. The rise in the prestige and rank of Solidarity among political organizations is also due to its own activities. The presentation of a draft constitution and the successful drive for collecting signatures in favor of that draft have revived Solidarity as a social movement. Krzaklewski emphasized that a new constitution is more important than a presidential election because it alone can assure completing the institutional and economic transformations.

Thus, the expectation that Solidarity will not survive until its next congress have not come true. Nowadays, Solidarity is also stronger internally, as demonstrated by the fact alone that, at Mielec, the "stink bomb" thrown at the very beginning of the debates—namely, the demand that Stasi dossiers concerning Solidarity activists be disclosed to the delegates—was rapidly defused. The congress decided by a voice vote that 300-page copies of the dossiers will be distributed to regional Solidarity heads after its deliberations are over (the material was not distributed earlier to avoid press publicity before the concerned individuals learned about it). Congress spokesman Piotr Zak pointed out, however, that these documents contain no new revelations. In Marian Krzaklewski's opinion, Solidarity activists were the first to undergo self-lustration, and, therefore, they had the moral right to demand that the Gauck documents be disclosed to them. The expectations were so great as to outweigh the arguments, however just, advanced by opponents of disclosure of the dossiers, but, even so, at the congress, the affair of the Stasi dossiers did not cause the storm many had anticipated.

The growing strength of Solidarity is also demonstrated by the passage, at last, of a resolution establishing its own mandatory strike fund, such as is indispensable for any genuine trade union. This will assure more effective worker protests in the future. I believe this to be a clear signal to the government that Solidarity will prepare a strike front and may soon undertake long-lasting protest drives.

It had been expected that this congress would also decide the issue of the establishment of a political party by Solidarity. However, its activists are in no hurry to found one, even though its more rightist factions stress the need for such a party, claiming that Solidarity is anyway even now deeply involved in politics, except that it is pursuing politics unprofessionally at the level of the workplace, as a trade union. According to Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski, who, at the congress, strengthened his standing as the movement's leader (which Walesa himself had noticed, declaring,"Marian is so strong that he feels he cannot be recalled from his position"), it should be enough for this trade union to again become an informal social movement focused on such objectives asa new constitution and the need to oppose the forces of postcommunism. In Krzaklewski's opinion, Solidarity does not need to set up a political party of its own in order to influence what Poland should be like, as proved by the successful constitutional drive. The collecting of signatures in support of Solidarity's draft of the constitution is besides still continuing and Krzaklewski hopes that the number of people in favor will increase by an additional several hundred thousand.

The question nowadays is how Solidarity will profit from its recent successes. Will it again resolve that its best investment would be in the person of Lech Walesa?

Iliescu Views Moldova, Bosnia, Corruption

AU1111092194 Bucharest DIMINEATA SUPPLEMENT in Romanian 1 Nov 94 pp 2, 3

["Interview Granted by Romania's President Ion Iliescu to Ricardo Orizio, correspondent of Italian Daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA"; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Orizio] Thank you for this interview. If you do not mind, I would like to begin with a question on foreign policy. Does your present definition of Moldova as another Romanian state imply that Romania will claim in the future—perhaps the distant future—reunification with Moldova?

[Iliescu] That is not a current problem. It is a problem about which no forecasts can be made. However, there is a historical reality that we must underscore. This does not mean that we have any claims. We are in favor of heeding the current political situation on the continent and the existence of various states, including the integrity of their borders and so forth. However, the problem stays open for history. Nobody can say how it will be solved.

Who would have anticipated Germany's unification a year before it happened? Nobody talked about it, that is about the Federal Republic of Germany's desire for unification with the German Democratic Republic. Therefore, it is all a matter of historical evolution.

The most important thing now is to consolidate the independence of that state and its internal economic and social stability and to develop bilateral relations in all spheres.

As a matter of fact, it is for the first time that we have the possibility of establishing such direct links. In the past, we were not able to talk to Chisinau. Romania had to discuss with Moscow about its relations with the former Moldavian Soviet Republic. I believe that this is a new reality, quite positive in certain respects.

There are certain problems pertaining to the domestic development of each of the two states and to the overall development framework of our region and the European continent. I believe that the most important thing is the common elements that we have, and we will strive to consolidate them.

[Orizio] Do you see the solution in trilateral ties between Romania, Moldova, and Russia as a prior conditions and requirement for Russia's admission to the Council of Europe and for its integration into Europe? Is this a condition which your country is going to raise?

[Iliescu] No. It has nothing to do with trilateral relations. Each of the three states has its own relations with all the other states, including Russia.

[Orizio] Right. What is your definition of "nationalism?" For many observers, nationalism in Europe is today considered as a kind of personification of evil, since it causes trouble everywhere in Europe. How do you define nationalism? Is it a good thing? Is it a bad thing? Is it something that belongs to the past rather than the present?

[Iliescu] The name as such does not reflect all the nuances and connotations that this word has for various people and states.

For certain people, it has a positive connotation, since it expresses their aspiration to national dignity, independence, national sovereignty, the overall development of the nation, and so forth.

However, you are just referring to the extremist manifestations of nationalism, which are linked to trends affecting other nations, such as exclusivism, separatism, segregationism, and so forth. I believe that all these extremist trends—whether they are manifested within a given country by the majority ethnic group against the minority ethnic groups, or by the minority groups, in the form of disloyalty toward the state, against the majority ethnic group—are dangerous.

Similarly, as far as relations among states are concerned, any expression of such trends against one's neighbors or other states does not serve the development of normal relations among states. I believe that the most important thing for our evolution on the continent is to develop the democratic organization of relations within each state—which includes the preservation and guaranteeing of freedoms and rights for all citizens, including those belonging to the minority groups, since minority rights are a component part of the democratic development of relations within a country—to democratize the relations among states and to set up relations of good-neighborliness and good cooperation among all states. I believe that these are the main components of the positive trends on the continent.

[Orizio] Sometimes, it seems that the interpretation of the word "nationalism" in the Balkans goes in the wrong direction, as you described it.

[Iliescu] Yes. One can see both interpretations of the word in the region. Some consider nationalism as a positive expression of the desire to assert the nation's own interests. But extremist tendencies, that is trends toward separatism and xenophobia, are also present.

[Orizio] Why did President Milosevic decide to become—to use your words—an instrument of peace? Why did he change his mind? What made him break off ties with the Bosnian Serbs?

[Iliescu] He is a politician. He probably reached the conclusion that the most efficient political decision is to take heed of reality. Hence, he came to the conclusion that the only way to achieve peace and solve the problems is to take into consideration the peace plan of the Contact Group. In this respect, he even made efforts to convince the Bosnian Serbs to accept this plan.

His position was rejected by the Pale assembly; consequently, he took that decision, which implies a personal risk, too, namely to break off ties with the Serbs of Bosnia, to close the borders, and to promote the peace plan solution.

[Orizio] What do you think will happen now in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia?

[Iliescu] It depends on the evolution of relations among the three communities in Bosnia. Changes may occur, and that is a positive evolution to the extent that the Serbs may decide to take a stand vis-a-vis the peace plan and start negotiations with the Contact Group alongside the others—the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia—so as to agree jointly on a common solution negotiated with the Contact Group, something which would enhance the prospects for a peaceful settlement. However, the other alternative is also possible, namely the refusal to accept any kind of contacts and negotiations and, if the decision is taken to lift the embargo on arms, this might exacerbate the internal situation and the war in Bosnia, with negative prospects for other neighboring regions.

[Orizio] Returning to your country, I noted that you are very concerned with the phenomenon of corruption, which is a problem everywhere. However, in some countries it is more pregnant than in others. Are you also concerned about the possible corruption, with its implied consequences, regarding Italian investment? I am not talking about the clean capital, but rather about so-called "dirty money." What is the situation in your country? What do you intend to undertake in this respect?

[Iliescu] There are two causes for corruption. One is linked to the critical situation of the economy, which encourages corruption. Second, is the weakness of state institutions, which lack the necessary force to use administrative, legislative, and punitive steps against various forms of corruption.

Of course, there are also such influences coming from outside. However, they do not come only from Italy, but also from other regions, such as the former Soviet Union—Ukraine and Russia, for instance, through Moldova—the Middle East, and so forth. There are all kinds of interconnections. The newly created reality of open borders has made it so that the institutional and legislative vacuum of this period should create the necessary conditions for and encourage various forms of corruption. Hence the difficulty of fighting against these phenomena.

That is why we proclaimed the need to act in all directions to achieve this goal, namely on the legislative plane, to complete our legislation and strengthen our legislative measures; on the institutional plane, to ensure that the state institutions, such as the police, prosecutors' offices, and justice, can work more efficiently; and on the economic plane, to adopt measures to accelerate the economic reform, so as to create a new economic basis for solving the main social problems. These are the three directions of action in this respect.

[Orizio] Do you think it is correct to say that the international network of various national mafia groupings—the Italian Mafia or the Russian mafia—has decided to consider Romania as a kind of field of operations?

[Iliescu] I cannot pronounce on this question, nor can I make any concrete assessments along these lines. However, one should take into consideration the existence of such a possibility.

[Orizio] In your opinion, what are the next steps for Romania's integration in Europe, from a political and economic point of view?

[Iliescu] From a political point of view, I believe that we have already made important progress in this direction. One such step is our participation, as a full member, in the Council of Europe, and we are fully participating in all the Council's activities. Similarly, another step is our participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP], within NATO, which is another instrument that has created a new climate and a new framework for cooperation in the sphere of security. We appreciated the idea of PFP as a framework for the nondiscriminatory treatment of various countries from Central and Eastern Europe. That is why we were the first to sign this Partnership and the PFP national program. Many concrete activities within the PFP are already in progress.

From an economic point of view, we are proceeding strongly in the direction of the European Union. Only two countries have yet to ratify Romania's association accord, which we hope will be ratified by the respective countries by the end of this year, so that we can become a EU associate member at the beginning of next year.

The next step will be to prepare our economy from a competitive viewpoint, in the perspective of our elevation to the status of a full EU member, which is a most complicated goal, owing to the difference between our economic, technological, and other levels, something which presupposes great efforts, primarily within the country and secondly in the development of cooperation between the two zones of our continent. [passage omitted]

[Orizio] Your government has been criticized by the Western media in the past—and even today, a question was raised in the discussions (of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe—our daily's editorial note) in this respect—for the fact that former ministers during Ceausescu's time are still ministers today.

[Iliescu] I do not know of any such case. I have asked for information in this respect, if anybody knows of such a case. I have no knowledge of such an instance. [passage omitted]

[Orizio] A last and very short question about the relations between Italy and Romania. Have you got any specific expectations from Italy? Is there something that Italy can especially do for Romania?

[Iliescu] To begin with, one can say that our relations are developing in a very positive way. This is not a haphazard occurrence. It is a basic relationship for Romania, in view of our Latinity, of our common history, of the similarities between our languages, and of all the sentiments nurtured by the Romanians for the Italians and for Rome. Even the name of the Romanians comes from Rome. [passage omitted]

[Orizio] Thank you very much, Mr. President, for your kindness.

Roman Views PDSR's 'Reckless' Alliances

AU1111175594 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 3 Nov 94 p 3

["Part one" of interview with PD President Petre Roman by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Sacrifice Team Continues the Struggle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [AZI] What, in your opinion, was the main political and organizational significance of the convention of the Democratic Party [PD] in Cluj [21-22 October]?

[Roman] The main political significance of the Cluj National Convention was our assertion as a social-democratic party and the reiteration of our ability to change the direction of governing in Romania, in order to come out of the crisis. Both these assertions and reiterations are backed by the documents presented, by the outstanding quality of our delegates to the convention, and by the fact that the party proved on that occasion, too, a strong cohesion and an authentic unity of ideas.

[AZI] Among the PD's possible allies, you also named the "moderate wing of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]." Is there such a thing? Please elaborate on this subject of "moderation in politics."

[Roman] The moderate wing of the PDSR to which you refer to is a long-standing topic, which did not have assume any special significance during the PD National Convention. I believe that too much speculation is being made on this subject. In the developments initiated by us, such as the national pact proposal of November last year, which was followed by a series of dialogues at leadership level between the PD and PDSR, it became obvious that the dominant trend in the PDSR is not a renewing or reforming one—let us call it the reform trend—but one that imposes reckless and ill-suited alliances, quite damaging for the country, such as those that the PDSR entered into in September 1992. Therefore, one cannot talk about moderation in the PDSR's practical political activity. Moderation in politics means the ability to conduct a dialogue for political solutions, by taking into consideration certain principles that cannot be violated.

[AZI] In Cluj, you gave the signal for the start of the PD's pre-electoral period. What does that actually mean for the party's organizational activity?

[Roman] The activity, which you call "pre-electoral," means ensuring our massive, constant, and intensive presence among the people. Therefore, the time has come to improve the dissemination of our options and the truth about what we have done and thought for the country, so as to succeed in attracting an increasingly larger part of the electorate to the PD. However, in the known circumstances prevailing in the activity of the television, this goal can only be achieved through a serious and strong presence from our representatives on the ground.

[AZI] Do you think that the PD drawing closer to the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]—even though no formal adherence request has been made—is not exactly "to the liking" of your electorate?

[Roman] I believe that this question refers to a stage that we have already left behind us. It is obvious that the PD has accumulated very good experience in opposition, albeit tough and painful, but good political experience nonetheless. As I said at our party's National Convention, the party now has double and most valuable experience—the experience of ruling and that of being in opposition. In both conditions, the PD has been a constructive party involved in the country's affairs. In opposition, we cooperated and are still cooperating with the CDR; however, the important thing is that we have preserved our identity and the party's independence. This reality was fully confirmed even at the National Convention, during the meeting with the Socialist International mission. Let us not forget the fact that the PD's electorate, which existed and I am positive still exists, has rejected both the PDSR's nonreforminst option as well as the undemocratic signals that we received from the then opposition—which later joined forces within the CDR—during our time in government. Today's political spectrum imposes a new reality, primarily in the eyes of the citizens. The PDSR is the party of a bankrupt government, hence this image does not reflect upon us. The CDR has asserted itself, alongside us, as a political force interested in stopping the decline of the material situation, the economic decline, and the degradation of the material life of the citizens and country. The PD option as an opposition party has been a self-contained alternative. Our documents, our entire parliamentary activity, and our struggle cannot be confused with other political images, be they of the CDR or other parties. We have our own identity. Finally, the essential thing is to be able to come off the opposition stage: There is no democratic party that wants to remain in opposition. How can we get out of this state and ensure that our proposals gain the favor of the electorate? Well, this is where the PD can join other opposition parties in putting forth a simple and credible message of a strong opposition. Since this happens in all democracies, we are convinced that this message will impose itself faster, if it is broad, all-encompassing, and strong.

[AZI] How do you see the future of relations with Sergiu Cunescu's Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR] in the light of the recent discussions with the envoys of the Socialist International?

[Roman] The relations with the PSDR are evolving along a strengthening line. Our cooperation with the party led by Mr. Sergiu Cunescu are evolving quite well. Let me remind you of the joint conference that we are organizing next January—together with the European Forum of Democracy and Solidarity, which is a forum of European social-democracy—and that we consult each other on various concrete political situations. We do that in those circumstances that require us to align our stands on the same bases. An example of this cooperation is the consultations during local elections. Life and time will decide on the final stage of cooperation and collaboration between our parties.

[AZI] Do you anticipate setting up a social-democratic alliance as a counterweight to both the CDR and the PDSR and company for the electoral campaign?

[Roman] The establishment of a social-democratic alliance is a reality. The way in which this alliance will evolve will determine whether it will be present or absent in the electoral campaign. I believe it is too early now to talk about that.

[AZI] How does the PD hope to become the government? Through political negotiations with the PDSR or in the wake of the next elections?

[Roman] The PD will come to power democratically, meaning through elections. This is the only viable and solid way for implementing our program and beliefs. We have tried to find a way out of the political blockage in which we all find ourselves—a blockage "achieved," so to speak, by the PDSR—by initiating the national pact and the statement of 14 January 1994, which we jointly issued with the other opposition parties. We have tried to channel the PDSR toward the other democratic forces, which would have led to the creation of a new parliamentary majority, hence to a government that tries to find solutions to the current crisis, a government of true and authentic reform. This attempt failed because of the PDSR. Therefore, this situation is quite clear, today: The PD must carry on its steady political struggle to gain a large electoral percentage, so that it cannot be overlooked when a new government is formed.

[AZI] Are the PD's and PDSR's positions as irreconcilable as all that? What about your and President Iliescu's positions?

[Roman] The PD's position regarding the PDSR's alliances with xenophobic and anti-reformist leaders and trends are irreconcilable. The latter do not want democracy and are even anti-European and anti-Western in their political thinking and practices. Equally irreconcilable is the PD's position vis-a-vis the obtuse and anti-market elements prevailing in the practice of the current government and in the political practice and attitude of the current majority. Other than that, democracy forces us into dialogue to find political solutions when they are extremely urgent and necessary, such as now, given the acute degradation of the material situation of the country's citizens. In other words, we hope to hear better and wiser things from that direction.

[AZI] There has been speculation of late about major differences between you and Mr. Severin [PD vice president] in the wake of de facto or de jure separations from Messrs. Dijmarescu, Predescu, and Bercea [PD politicians]. What is your comment on these rumors?

[Roman] The speculation to which you refer has been induced from the outside; it is not the result of concrete facts within the PD. I have said this on other occasions, too: The PD has strong personalities who want to assert themselves. However, equally important has been and still is the reality of our cohesion and mutual assistance—that is, helping one another in the political struggle—a reality that I consider much stronger in our party than in the rest of the domestic political landscape. That is why I have no comment to make on these rumors.

Roman Views PD's 'Growing' Electoral Appeal

AU1111175794 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 4 Nov 94 p 3

["Part two" of interview with PD President Petre Roman by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "You Can Only Be a Politician if You Struggle on Behalf of Your Fellow Citizens"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [AZI] Do you believe that the Democratic Party's [PD] replies to the "classical" attacks, as one might call them, of the progovernment coalition have had a convincing impact upon the public at large?

[Roman] You are in a better position to judge whether or not they were convincing. Anyhow, it is certain that if we had had the opportunity to present more of our viewpoints in the mass media, particularly on television and radio, and to conduct a debate on these accusations, we would have undoubtedly gained a lot of ground as far as the party's credibility is concerned. I feel obliged to give you further examples in this respect, some of them quite recent. You may recall that in August-September 1991, the Roman government was accused of all possible evils, including that agriculture was not truly functioning, that the land was not being tilled, that grain and other agricultural and food products were being imported, and so forth. In those days, television presented every night examples of untilled plots of land. As a matter of fact, only some 300,000 hectares out of about 4.5 million remained untilled in those days. Today, some 3 million hectares are not being cultivated. The television does not report anything on this extremely serious situation, at least not in the current events programs. Moreover, this government began its activity by boasting that it will no longer import grain. Please note how seriously grain imports over the past two years, since this government took office, have affected the country's balance of payments. That was another lie, like many others that followed. If they are revealed as lies, they will become plus electoral points, so to speak, for the PD.

[AZI] Please point out some of the cooperation directions of the PD-trade union relationship and tell us whether Miron Cosma (president of the Confederation of Mining Trade Unions of Romania—CSMR) has reiterated his cooperation proposal expressed in the message that he sent to the proceedings of the PD National Conference.

[Roman] As I have already said, the PD's relationship with the trade unions is not merely a rapport of cooperation. We consider the trade unions as authentic representatives of the employees. In other words, our social-democratic policy is directly geared to issues publicly raised by the trade unions as an expression of the problems, needs, difficulties, and mainly legitimate demands of the employees. However, I would not include here the proposal advanced by the trade union leader from the Jiu Valley. I cannot ignore the fact that, before September 1991, our government put together a vast and very serious program of restructuring the mining industry. Within that program, each miner would have found his place. But that program, which would have been of equal interest for the miners, the government, and the country, was not implemented. Instead, we became the target of that wave of violence to which Miron Cosma makes no reference whatsoever in his message to our convention in Cluj. In this respect, there is need for much more and serious clarification.

[AZI] What is the current situation of the members of what has been called the "sacrifice team."

[Roman] I do not understand the question very well. You know very well the members of the so-called "sacrifice team," those who are in the PD. You know their political activity and realize that each one of them is a potential leader of a certain sector of government. You are also aware of the choice of those who are no longer in this "sacrifice team"—I am referring to Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu and Anton Vatasescu [dissident former PD leaders]. As for those who have passed away—indeed, two of our previous leadership team are no longer among us, namely, former Agriculture Minister Tipu and later our beloved Ion Aurel Stoica—you have all the proof of the syntagm "sacrifice team."

[AZI] Do your former colleagues in the provisional government who are currently uncommitted politically intend to make their comeback in politics under the PD's colors? I am referring to Anton Vatasescu, Mihai Zisu, Theodor Stolojan, and so forth?

[Roman] Vatasescu, Zisu, Stolojan, who belonged to the same team, have other concerns today. They are more involved in business or other lucrative spheres. I maintain direct contact with them, we have talked on various occasions, and none of them has rejected this team. In other words, I believe that they could always make their contribution if they were called upon to take part in a government formula, which would undoubtedly be better than the one we have today. However, their current absence from politics is rather detrimental to their return to politics. In other words, the important thing in politics is to be present and to make yourself visible in the people's eyes, so that the people can see that you are struggling for something that concerns your fellow citizens. This is politics and anyone thinking of going into politics or wanting to go into politics must be aware of this reality. At the top level, the experts "give" advice and make concrete recommendations. However, to be engaged in top level politics, you must have a direct presence. I believe that each one of them has this capability.

[AZI] How do you assess the PD's current popularity in the villages and small towns? How do you explain the migration of certain mayors and local councillors to the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]? Can the party leadership cope with the problems of local PD authorities?

[Roman] The PD's popularity in rural areas and small towns is registering a marked and true upward course. In the villages, people now realize that we gave land to the peasants and that we thought out various ways and means to ensure that that action would produce results. As for the current government, not only does it no longer think of such things, but it actually hampers the natural development of the process, and does nothing to stimulate the current owners of small farms. The entire process of granting credits to agriculture, which was an integral part of the seven- point agricultural program presented by the Roman government in September 1991, is fully valid in our days, too. Therefore, we saw things in a correct light at the time, while today's situation in agriculture is pretty bad. Hence, what all this means is that we should now be called upon to implement an agricultural policy that can give satisfaction to the hundreds of thousands, actually millions, of small farmers. I repeat, our influence is growing in the villages and small towns. As for your question on the migration of mayors and local councillors, it is high time to clarify things in this respect: The National Salvation Front all together won 40.3 percent of the seats for local councillors and 47.7 percent of the mayoral posts in 1992. Following certain migrations, resignations, and dismissals—all owing to pressure from the PDSR and the current government—the PD has 32 percent of the local councillors and 36 percent of the mayors. I believe that these percentages are quite remarkable for our party. The reason given by the prefects and the government in the majority of the dismissal cases was the failure to implement Law 19, which proves that we are dealing here with an overt intention to settle accounts and hurt us politically. Let us recall that the prefect is the chairman of the county commission for the implementation of the Law on the Land Stock and the issue of ownership titles. In fact, our mayors were submitted to denigration and abuse. However, by surviving these maneuvers, with the support of the party and the citizens, these mayor are today stronger than ever and I believe that most of them are the true treasure of the PD for the coming elections.

[AZI] "Dacia" Publishing House has recently brought out a book by you. What significance do you attach to this book?

[Roman] I do not think there is any need to elaborate further on my recently published book, which is the Romanian version of a book that I published in France. In our country, it is published under the title "Freedom as Duty." The book was translated, but also revised and expanded with two new chapters. But its significance is obviously the same, namely to confess—in a good, delicate, and warm way—my experiences and formation through education and family, to explain various events that might not have been understood at the time, and to make the people who believe in me realize that it was worth trusting me and to try to convince those who doubted me or estranged themselves from me to come back, because I never betrayed their hopes.

[AZI] Do you think that President Ion Iliescu can be defeated at the next presidential elections (obviously, provided that the Constitutional Court decides that he is still entitled to run again for the presidency)?

[Roman] There is no doubt that President Ion Iliescu, just like any other candidate, can be defeated in the elections. In the current situation in Romania, it is very important to set up an alternative, because Mr. Ion Iliescu, in his capacity as president, has not acted within his constitutional prerogatives as a referee and mediator among the state powers or as a mediator between these powers and society. Therefore, he is strongly linked to the image of the current government, and hence it is necessary to have the alternative to which I referred.

[AZI] In your book, you chose Mr. Petru Cretia [prominent literary critic] as "inquisitor," that is as dialogue partner and poser of awkward questions. Do you believe that a great intellectual can also be an honest barometer for the concerns of the man in the street?

[Roman] It seems to me that the question contains an obvious contradiction. Can the country's great men of culture be this, without being linked to the concerns of the common people? Can art and culture be anything else than a reflection of what the people expect to understand from life, so as to be able to live it more fully? It is obvious that a great intellectual deserves the beautiful name of intellectual only if he is an exponent of the concerns of the man in the street?

Government Welcomes U.S. Embargo Decision

AU1111133594 Paris AFP in English 1325 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 11 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government Friday [11 Nov] welcomed reports of a U.S. decision to stop enforcing a naval blockade on arm shipments to their side as the war raged in the northwest of the country. [passage omitted]

In Paris a spokesman for the Western European Union said the U.S. decision to discontinue applying an arms embargo against Bosnia would render useless other operations to enforce it. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, speaking to television reporters, said the U.S. move could mark "the turning point to understanding that there is a victim and there is an aggressor" in the 31-month-old war.

"I think no democratic government, especially the U.S. Government, has any business punishing the victim," he said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile UN Protection Force spokesmen here declined to comment on the U.S. move, but one officer, who did not want to be named, said the main problem for countries wishing to maintain a naval blockade would come if the U.S. denied them intelligence as to which ships might be carrying weapons.

Weapons for Bosnia-Herzegovina have already been seeping through the blockade, notably by way of Croatia in the wake of a peace deal concluded early this year between Bosnian Croats and Moslems.

A U.S. withdrawal from blockade enforcement would widen the net further. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile on the ground in Bosnia, Serb forces were reported to be counter-attacking against the Bihac enclave in the northwest of the country.

UN Protection Force spokesman Major Koos Sol said over 600 mortar and artillery rounds pounded several villages just south of Bihac town Thursday morning, killing at least two civilians and wounding 10. Hundreds of houses were damaged and at least one church destroyed, he said.

The shelling was carried out by both Bosnian Serbs and secessionist Serbs in neighbouring Croatia, he said.

But he could not confirm earlier reports that Croatian Serbs had joined Bosnian Serbs in their ground counter-offensive. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi was holding talks here Friday with Ganic and Bosnian commander-in-chief General Rasim Delic on the escalating war.

Siladzic Comments

NC1311192394 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 13 Nov 94

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, currently visiting Great Britain, by Tawfiq Jazulit; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Silajdzic] The U.S. Government's decision is important and shows that it is distinguishing between the aggressor and the victim. Bosnia-Herzegovina is the victim of a fascist aggression [word indistinct]. We are awaiting a solution and the international community should interfere directly or let us defend ourselves. Any third solution means participation in this catastrophe in the enemy's favor.

[Jazulit] The Muslim Bosnian Government forces have achieved significant victories that have a very important military strategic dimension. But at the same time we have noticed that the Bosnian Government forces are unable to retain their gains and are retreating. Our information is that at least 40 percent of the liberated areas have been retaken by your enemy, the Bosnian Serb forces. What is happening in the military arena?

[Silajdzic] [words indistinct] which means that you take one thing and give out another, that is to say that one day things are in our favor and the other things are against us. Actually, the Bosnian Government Army has been organized, thanks to God. We are much stronger than we were one or two years ago.

[Jazulit] As Bosnian prime minister, do you intend to conduct a tour of some Arab and Islamic capitals to brief the heads of Arab and Islamic countries on the latest developments in the region and is there coordination between you and the Islamic countries?

[Silajdzic] Naturally, there is coordination on the diplomatic level, especially at the United Nations. Visits are taking place according to [word indistinct] and there is an intention to continue the discussions and meetings.

Ganic Hopes Others Follow

AU1111114294 Paris AFP in English 1125 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 11 (AFP)—A senior Bosnian official on Friday [11 Nov] urged Western nations—notably France and Britain—to back a reported U.S. decision to stop enforcing a UN-mandated arms embargo on arms to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Ejup Ganic, vice-president of the Moslem-Croat Federation and a member of Bosnia's collective presidency, welcomed the reported decision by Washington.

He said in a brief statement to AFP that it was evidence that "moral issues were prevailing in U.S. foreign policy."

"Let's hope their friends, notably France and Britain, will follow," he added. Both these countries have opposed any move to end the UN arms embargo. [passage omitted]

In Copenhagen, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen on Friday said his country was also opposed to the reported U.S. decision and feared that the alleged move could cause divisions among Western allies.

"Denmark is still in favor of fully maintaining the arms embargo against ex-Yugoslavia despite the American decision to stop diverting weapons shipments to Bosnian Moslems," Petersen said. [sentence as received]

He said, "Washington's decision will have no impact on our position."

The Moslem-led Bosnian army and Bosnian Croatian forces have launched successful offensives againsnt Bosnian Serbs on serveral fronts in recent weeks, sending them retreating notably from around the Moslem-held enclave of Bihac in the west of the country.

But Serbs have undertaken a counter-offensive in the west.

UN officers in Sarajevo Friday cited unconfirmed reports that the Serbs were being joined in Bihac fighting by secessionist Serb forces from Croatia in a move seen in Sarajevo as threatening to turn the tide of battle.

Krajisnik Critical

LD1311170794 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic people's assembly, warned in a statement to SRNA yesterday evening that the U.S. administration's decision to unilaterally lift the arms embargo against the Muslims in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is a great obstacle to the continuation of the peace process. Particularly problematic is the fact that the United States is making its moves irrespective of the UN Security Council decision. This confirms the idea that the United States has now publicly sided with one of the sides, with the intention of influencing the final outcome of this civil war, Mr. Krajisnik said.

The Srpska republic parliament speaker stressed that nothing can justify this U.S. move, which will have a significant impact on peace and the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Mr. Krajisnik believes that President Bill Clinton is doing this in order to improve his shaken reputation in the United States and that this decision was forced by promises made to the Islamic world that assistance would be provided to the Bosnian Muslims. This could lead to a prolonged war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and cause a huge number of casualties, Krajisnik warned.

The Srpska republic parliament speaker believes that the Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot continue working after this U.S. decision. He said that it can no longer be called a contact group as it is not in contact with all the sides.

Asked whether—after the U.S. decision on lifting the arms embargo—he expects a change in Yugoslavia's policy toward the Srpska republic, Speaker Krajisnik said that certain changes have already taken place. On the basis of statements made by Yugoslav government representatives and other influential figures, one can say that Yugoslavia has already assumed a positive approach to the new situation, Mr. Krajisnik explained.

Serb General Comments

LD1211183594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1749 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zvornik, Bratunac, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—The latest Muslim offensive on Serb territory is being successfully crushed in all directions from which it had been launched, TANJUG learned this evening from circles in the Serb republic army [VRS]. [passage omitted]

Lieutenant-Colonel-General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of general staff of the VRS, told reporters today that "the embargo has been non-existent so far because neither the Croat nor the Muslim side had respected any UN resolutions to this effect". He believes that the protected zones no longer exist after the U.S. decision.

Ganic, UN's Akashi Comment on Discussions

LD1211225494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, today continued his talks that were begun yesterday with Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and federation vice president, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation. The meeting ended without any concrete agreements. Senada Cumurovic reports.

[Cumurovic] Judging by their statements, no important headway was made in today's talks between Yasushi Akashi and the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities, regardless of Akashi's assessment that this was a fruitful discussion. In his statement the UN secretary general's special envoy said the following:

[Begin Akashi recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] On the basis of my talks in Pale yesterday afternoon, we had a fruitful discussion about the situation on Mount Igman. Generals Vahid Karavelic and Herve Gaubillard will work out the technical details of the implementation of the agreement reached between Mr. Ganic and myself in connection with the evacuation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops from Krupac and other parts of this zone. We also discussed the security of the Igman road, and reached an understanding on a future agreement to be based on the earlier antisniping agreement on all the other routes around Sarajevo.

We also tackled the problem of Bihac and agreed it was necessary to ensure air drops for Bihac. These talks did not produce any final agreements, but this was a step forward in our cooperation. [end recording]

[Cumurovic] On behalf of the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, the reporters were addressed by Ejup Ganic, who said he was not so optimistic but nevertheless believed that progress had been made on the issue of Igman. He added the following:

[Begin Ganic recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] There have been some fundamental disagreements between us and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. Karadzic's Serbs and Serbs from Serbia have snatched away 70 percent of the territory, during which time UNPROFOR failed to raise its voice. But when our army occasionally takes small steps to recapture territory, we begin hearing: We are here to keep the peace, we cannot work like this, and so on. In this way they quote approved unquote the first stage in the occupation of our country, but when territories are liberated UNPROFOR disapproves. The Serbs have in fact put UNPROFOR to the test.

If UNPROFOR fails to secure humanitarian aid deliveries to Bihac with NATO help within seven days, we will no longer be able to speak of neutrality and will be facing disaster. [end recording]

[Cumhurovic] Reporters asked Akashi about UN guarantees to the Bosnian Government concerning the Igman road. Akashi replied that UNPROFOR would be patrolling the road and that at least three observation posts would be set up for ensuring the road's security. However, absolute guarantees for the road's security cannot be given by either UNPROFOR or anyone else, Akashi said after three hours of talks.

Parliament Empowers Karadzic To Decide on War

LD1111111294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0919 GMT 11 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb parliament voted early Friday against an immediate declaration of a state of war.

Instead, it empowered Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic to make the declaration when the need arises.

The Bosnian Serb army Supreme Command declared a general mobilization Nov. 4 and proposed to parliament to declare a state of war throughout the republic.

Three weeks ago, Muslim forces launched offensives against the Bosnian Serbs from the Bihac pocket, a U.N.-designated "safe haven" in northwestern Bosnia, and from demilitarized zones on Mts. Igman and Bjelasnica overlooking Sarajevo.

"Parliament...has authorized the Supreme Command and the supreme commander that they can...impose a state of war on a part or the entirety of the (Bosnian Serb) Republic...should the need arise," REUTERS quoted parliament Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik as saying.

REUTERS quotes Bosnian Serb President Karadzic as saying, when asked if a state of war had been declared, that "there is a state of war in the Second Corps area (Bihac) and there is a possibility of introducing a state of war elsewhere."

'Supreme Command' Authorized

AU1111072394 Paris AFP in English 0425 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 11 (AFP)—The self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament has authorized the Serb republic's "supreme command" to declare a temporary state of war wherever it deems necessary in areas under its control, speaker Momcilo Krajisnik announced here early Friday.

"The government of the Serb republic has been charged with taking urgent measures that are necessary for the effective proclamation of a state of war," Krajisnik said after a meeting of deputies.

But he added that "in the meantime, the supreme command is entitled to declare a state of war in all or part of the territory of the Serb republic if such a step becomes necessary."

The supreme command groups Bosnian Serb "president" Radovan Karadzic, two vice presidents and three ministers.

The parliamentary debate, which followed an escalation in fighting in the 31-month-old Bosnian war, was called after the Bosnian Serb military leadership asked the assembly to ratify proposals to declare a full state of war across its territories.

A state of war would mean a general mobilization and imposition of martial law across Serb-held areas. If implemented, it would follow recent large-scale advances by Moslem-led Bosnian Government forces in west and northwest Bosnia.

The independent Belgrade news agency BETA earlier reported that only half the deputies favored declaring war throughout the 70 percent of Bosnia held by Serb forces.

The other half strongly opposed the move.

Observers said the anti-declaration camp had been seeking to prevent a concentration of power in the hands of Karadzic and the military.

The deputies, who enjoy numerous parliamentary privileges, have built up local fiefdoms of influence and wealth.

Their interests often run counter to those of the military, who consider themselves financially disadvantaged.

Karadzic Comments

LD1111162794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1458 GMT 11 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic said Friday the assembly backed the army central command's initiative to introduce a state of war in the entire republic.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Karadzic as saying after the assembly session in Pale that the decision was based on the fact that the "Muslim side does not want to halt the offensive and arrive at peace through peaceful means."

"Our objective is peace and we offer it immediately, but the condition is that the Muslim side immediately halt the offensive on the Bosnian Serb republic and accept the political outcome of the war," SRNA quoted Karadzic as saying.

Karadzic said "the assembly decision was made to arrive at peace, regrettably, through military means, because it is evident that some foreign states support the Muslim military initiative, thus leading to an escalation of the war."

SRNA quoted Bosnian Serb assembly speaker Momcilo Krajisnik as saying that the "Bosnian Serb government was instructed to prepare until the next parliament session documents necessary for an efficient implementation of the state of war."

Krajisnik explained that the "supreme command has been authorized by the assembly decision meanwhile to impose a state of war in the entire territory or its parts if necessary."

He said it was agreed that the next assembly session whose primary item on the agenda will be the imposing of a state of war, should be held as soon as possible.

The SRNA report, which was also received by TANJUG, said the Bosnian Serb parliament decision was adopted at a closed session and with only one vote against.

The assembly also verifed the central command decision to impose a state of war in the zone of the Bosnian Serb army's 2nd Krajina Corps (western Bosnia).

The state of war was introduced in western Bosnia on Oct. 30 after Bosnian Muslim units launched a heavy offensive from the U.N.-Protected Area based in Bihac.

In the offensive, Muslims took about 200 sq km of territory from Serbs and triggered an exodus of about 11,500 Serb civilians.

Karadzic Denied Power To Dissolve Assembly

AU1111114494 Paris AFP in English 1137 GMT 11 Nov 94

[AFP headline: "Bosnian Serb 'Parliament' Curbs Karadzic's Power"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (AFP)—The self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament has voted to curb the powers of Bosnian Serb "president" Radovan Karadzic by adopting an amendment preventing him from dissolving the legislature in the event of war, the [Bosnian Serb] SRNA news agency reported Friday [11 November].

The parliament, which has been meeting in its Bosnian-Serb stronghold of Pale since last Wednesday, adopted the decision in conjunction with a vote authorizing Serb leaders to declare a temporary state of war in areas under its control.

"Only parliament can decide on its own dissolution and not the president as was initially proposed," the new constitutional amendment states, according to SRNA.

The move was viewed as an attempt to prevent power from being concentrated in the hands of Karadzic and the military.

The deputies, who enjoy immunity and numerous priviliges, have built up local fiefdoms of influence and wealth and their interets often run counter to those of the military.

The parliament held its emergency meeting this week following a request by the Serb "supreme command" to declare war throughout the 70 percent of territory controlled by the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The request was in response to recent large-scale advances by mainly Moslem Bosnian Government forces in west and northwest Bosnia.

Serbs Recapture 80 Percent of Lost Territory

AU1411121794 Paris AFP in English 1127 GMT 14 Nov 94

[By Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 14 (AFP)—Serb forces have recaptured 80 percent of the territory earlier lost to Moslem-led forces in western Bosnia, a UN Protection Force spokesman said here Monday.

Meanwhile fighting continued on the Grabez plateau, high ground just east of Bihac town with Serbs Monday morning shelling one of its suburbs, in violation of its UN-declared safe area status, Lt.- Col. Tim Spicer said.

"Significant" shelling targetted the suburb of Orljani, two kilometers east of Bihac town, between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m., another UNPROFOR spokesman had earlier reported.

There were no immediate reports of casualties and it was not known whether the shelling was carried out by Bosnian Serbs, or their ethnic Serb allies from Croatia, just across the border.

On Sunday, the UN Security Council called on the warring parties to refrain from any action that could trigger an escalation of fighting around the Moslem-held enclave in western Bosnia.

The council also stressed "the significance of its resolutions on safe areas" and demanded that all concerned make their implementation possible.

Sunday evening, there was also heavy shelling of the Grabez plateau, just east of Bihac town, amid reports that Serb forces were moving back into the area.

Moslem-led government forces broke out of Bihac enclave three weeks ago, rolling back Bosnian Serbs forces and capturing 250 square kilometers (100 square miles) of territory.

But the Serbs, who have launched a strong counter-offensive, are nearly back to previous confrontation lines, Spicer said.

Serbs Receiving Russian Weapons Despite Embargo

LD1211101994 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0227 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Hamburg (DDP/ADN)—Serbian army units have received modern weapons from Russian stocks in spite of the UN embargo, according to DER SPIEGEL. These originated mainly from the Western Group of the former Soviet armed forces, DER SPIEGEL reports in its latest edition, quoting research by the Institute of Soviet Studies (ISOS) in Frankfurt am Main. ISOS expert Nikolay Nor-Mesek is reported as saying that if the war in the Balkans escalated, there was a "growing danger of NATO aircraft also being shot down."

According to the report, Serbian units for example received 83 howitzers with a calibre of 122 mm and a 15 km range. Elite Russian troops have meanwhile also reported a shortfall in ultra-modern S-300 b anti-aircraft missiles.

The sacked deputy defense minister and former commander in chief of the Russian forces in Germany, Matvey Burlakov, was a central figure in the delivery, the report adds. According to reliable estimates, over 4,000 freight cars carrying Western Group material has been diverted to the Balkans.

Relations With UNPROFOR at 'All Time Low'

AU1311142594 Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 13 (AFP)—Relations between Bosnian authorities and the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) are at an all time low with local politicians calling for the force commander's head and government officials saying protection is a joke.

The low ebb in relations comes at a time of increased fighting around the country, initially prompted by government offensives against the Serbs but which has lately seen Moslem-led forces in trouble in the western Bihac enclave.

UNPROFOR commanders on the ground have taken the view that there is no good side in the war and that they are here to act as "honest brokers" between the two warring parties.

The Bosnian Government, for its part, points to resolutions passed by the UN Security Council which call on UNPROFOR to protect safe areas and ensure that humanitarian aid reaches its destination.

"Many of the safe areas are protected only on paper," Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic said, pointing to the case of Bihac town, one of the six UN-designated safe havens which has been subject to shelling and an air attack by the Serbs. No humanitarian aid has reached its population in over five months, he added.

All the parties represented in parliament recently called for the dismissal of the local UN commander, General Sir Michael Rose, of Britain, alleging bias in his conduct of peace-keeping operations.

And Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic also recently lashed out at the UN operation, saying he would call on the Security Council to redefine the force's mandate.

Much of the dispute stems from UNPROFOR's perceived reluctance to call in North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) air strikes against the Serbs.

UNPROFOR has emasculated the NATO air threat, turning it into a "mickey-mouse operation", Bosnian Federation Vice-President Ejup Ganic said.

"We see two politics. One in New York, by the Security Council, and one here by General Rose," he added.

Rose, he charged, has tolerated numerous acts of aggression by the Serbs without calling for NATO reprisals.

And the British commander had written to Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic saying, in effect, that he does not intend to use air power against the Serbs, Ganic charged.

He was referring to a letter sent on Sept. 30 in which Rose appeared to express reluctance at calling for NATO air strikes in cases when Serbs had violated UN terms.

"The Security Council has to review this mess," Ganic added.

The Bosnian Government has also expressed anger at comments by the UN's top commander in the former Yugoslavia, General Bertrand de Lapresle, who said in an interview published earlier this month by THE WASHINGTON POST that the Serbs needed support and understanding.

Lapresle suggested that the Serbs be given better terms in the international peace plan for Bosnia, adding that they should be allowed to form a confederation with Serb-dominated Yugoslavia.

Defending UNPROFOR, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said: It "is a peace-keeping force, it's not a peace-enforcement force and we want to adhere to this basic philosophy.

"UNPROFOR is dealing with a situation of trying to keep peace where peace has not been agreed by the parties," he said, adding: "UNPROFOR is neither mandated, nor trained to fight a war."

And on forcing through humanitarian aid, he pointed to the difficulties this would entail.

"We might have satisfaction of getting through one convoy by force, but what happens to all subsequent convoys?" he said.

"We certainly have a resort to NATO's force and we have not hesitated to resort to it whenever a justifiable case for closer air support as arisen," he said.

But use of airpower has to be "judicious" and based on a "proportionate response" and "minimum use of force", he added.

UNPROFOR, which started to deploy here in July 1992, now has a multi-national force of some 17,000 soldiers. Most of these come from France and Britain, but other contingents include soldiers from the Ukraine, Russia, Egypt, Malaysia, Turkey, Bangladesh, Denmark, Belgium and Canada.

"We have no quarrel with UN soldiers on the ground who are doing their best under difficult conditions," Ljubijankic said, but UN commanders have been given too much leeway by their political masters who, because they represent different and sometimes divergent interests, have been unable to define a firm policy line.

Rose Optimistic About Peacekeeping Mission

MS1311113794 London THE OBSERVER in English 13 Nov 94 p 16

[Report by Charlotte Eagar incorporating interview with Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose, commander of UN Protection Forces in Bosnia, in Sarajevo; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo—"Why should this job be jinxed? If you're interested in saving human life and trying to make the world a safer place, then I think there's no better place to be," said Lt-General Sir Michael Rose, commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, blue eyes matching his beret.

If he stays to the end of his tour on 24 January, he will be almost the first UN general to last the course. General Lewis MacKenzie left, discredited, to embark on Serb-emigre-funded lecture tours. General Philippe Morrillon sulked in his tent for his last few months. General Francis Briquemont, Rose's predecessor, resigned in disgust at his lack of support from the international community.

In the past month Rose has come under fire from the Bosnian government and the media. There is much talk about the man who will succeed him, Maj-Gen Rupert Smith, commander of the Parachute Regiment, who is said to be "calmer" and to "take things less personally".

But Rose, sitting with arms crossed in his Sarajevo office, brushes it off. "The UN here has achieved a miraculous amount given the circumstances in which it's working," he said, noting the UN's difficult peace-keeping role in Bosnia and its main aim of supporting the UNHCR in delivering humanitarian aid.

"We still have gas and electricity and water flowing across the battle line. We had 160,000 civilians crossing the battle lines and it's happening all around the lines of conflict. These are extraordinary achievements in the middle of a war. Most of all, we've kept open the paths for a peaceful resolution of problems."

With the repetitive boom of a sustained mortar attack, Rose's relentless barrage of optimism thunders on. With about three clear weeks of good fighting weather before the snows come, he is going to need it.

The United States' decision to stop enforcing the arms embargo against the Muslim-led Bosnian army (BiH) comes as the BiH is gaining ground in central Bosnia and the Serbs are counter-attacking in the North-west.

The US move could jeopardise the mission. Since the summer, the UN has stood firm that its troops would be withdrawn if the embargo is actually lifted.

But Rose's office in Sarajevo refused to comment on the US move. "Ring UN HQ in Zagreb," a source said. "This is far above our heads politically."

Rose will no doubt try to deal with this lurch in international relations in the same way he has coped with others. Last spring he shimmied his way out of the Gorazde crisis when he consistently downplayed the Serbian violations of the "total exclusion zones" as a way of avoiding air strikes. "We just kept a cool head and steered right down the middle and look how right we were," he said.

"I think if we had over-reacted to some of those reports we heard at the time then certainly this mission would have terminated. There would probably be a war going on here, possibly supported by outside powers and the world would be an amazingly dangerous place."

In a recent internal UN memo, Rose's office stressed the "need to adopt a more pro-active policy of reporting the qualitative successes of the mission". The memo said that the way in which the press was being briefed meant that "despite numerous successes in the sphere of returning to normality, particularly in Sarajevo, the perceptions, backed up by graphs, were of a slide back to war". As a result, morning briefings no longer include the number of daily ceasefire violations.

"If you listen out of the window now," said Rose, "you might think the third world war was happening. But actually there's an awful lot of firing around this time of night and nothing much ever happens, but we don't go rushing off over-reacting."

There is a fine line between looking through the short-term problems and ignoring them completely. Rose brushes off criticism that he is soft on the Serbs as "old propaganda".

"It's one of the most powerful of all emotions, disappointed expectations," he said. "The Serbs tell me I'm soft on the Muslims. It's a remnant from the old communist times: if you're not with us you're against us."

Which all sounds fine, until you remember that Bosnian Serb troops have been able to get into the UN-guarded heavy weapon collection points around Sarajevo and fire shells at the Bosnians. Under the agreement the Serbs were allowed access to maintain their weapons, but nobody said anything about firing them.

The truth is that Unprofor is soft on the Serbs. It has to be. The argument against sending troops into Bosnia in the first place—that they would be hostages to the Serbs—still stands. The Serbs control the access routes in and out of Sarajevo and the eastern enclaves. Rose's troops are lightly armed and can only shoot in self-defence.

"We're here to deliver humanitarian aid, and if being soft on the Serbs is what it takes to get the job done, that's what we have to do," a source said.

"I think we have forgotten how bad things were here before he came," said Sandra Hadzic, a Bosnian journalist, sitting outside a cafe where nine months ago she would have been shot.

There is a game of brinkmanship going on, with the Bosnian government perpetually trying to provoke the UN in the hope of sucking Nato into the war on its side.

If Rose were a Bosnian general, he would probably play such games himself. As a UN general he has to sit in his lightly armed white vehicle in the middle of a war, only allowed to fire if fired at. That is frustrating for a man who was head of the SAS [Special Air Services].

"Peace-keeping is a question of applying the minimum necessary to achieve your particular aim," Rose said. "The destruction of a single tank by a single aeroplane could be described in war-fighting terminology as a pin-prick but not in peace-keeping.

"It seems to me that people will not accept that we are not here to enforce a political solution. We're deployed and equipped for peace-keeping. You wouldn't switch the mission round in mid-course. You'd have to withdraw and start again."

Whatever the Bosnians say, the British consider Rose has done well. Bosnia is known as a hell of a job and anyone who can maintain the status quo, let alone improve things as Rose has done, is seen as a success. But—all things considered—Rose had better pray the snow comes soon.

Fighting Continues in Muslim-Held Bihac Enclave

Aid to Bangladeshis

AU1111144094 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 11 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force here is sending some 180 Dutch soldiers to the western Moslem-held Bihac enclave to reinforce 1,200 Bangladeshi soldiers, cut off by ongoing fighting and unable to call in air support.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] military spokesman Major Koos Sol Friday described the situation of the Bangladeshi soldiers, who deployed in the enclave on Oct 18, as "fairly worrying," adding that they had almost no medical supplies and were running out of other essentials.

UNPROFOR has been unable to get supplies in to the region for at least 10 days because of ongoing fighting between Moslem-led government and Serb forces and a Serb blockade of the enclave.

The UN has not even sought to fly in supplies because of fear that Serb forces, both in Bosnia and neighbouring Croatia, might shoot at planes.

An advanced Dutch party left from Split for Bihac on Thursday, but it was unlikely they had managed to get in because of the Serb blockade, Sol said.

The UN aimed to deploy the full contingent of 180 Dutch reinforcements by the end of the month.

The Dutch soldier were understood to include tactical air controllers who could call in and direct air strikes, a capability the Bangladeshis on the ground did not have.

The Bangladeshi forces were equipped with Eastern European surplus military stocks, and did not have "technical and personnel capabilities to call in air support," Sol said.

UN, NATO To Break Blockade

AU1211150894 Paris AFP in English 1354 GMT 12 Nov 94

[By Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 12 (AFP)—The UN and NATO are gearing up to forcibly breach the Serb blockade of the northwestern Bihac enclave to resupply UN forces there and parachute food aid to its mostly-Moslem population, UN officials said Saturday [12 November].

UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said he and the Bosnian Government had called on Western nations to provide aircraft to parachute emergency food aid into the pocket, currently under attack from all sides by Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia.

Describing the humanitarian situation in the enclave as "very serious," Akashi said he had been urging Western nations to agree to air drops for the enclave despite the danger of conducting such operations in a war zone.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates there are some 208,000 civilians trapped in Bihac.

Bosnian Serbs and their allies in the breakaway Croatian region of Krajina, which borders Bihac on the north and west, have launched strong attacks against government forces in the enclave after Moslem-led forces had themselves rolled back Bosnian Serbs in an offensive three weeks ago.

A spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Major Koos Sol, said the enclave was heavily shelled again on Friday and that government forces had withdrawn from positions outside Bosanska Krupa, which they had earlier sought to capture.

"If there is no action by UNPROFOR within one week to supply some food into Bihac we are facing catastrophe," Vice President Ejup Ganic said following talks with Akashi.

All but a trickle of humanitarian aid has been cut off to the Bihac enclave since the beginning of the summer, and even the 1,200 UN Bangladeshi troops there have been cut off from the outside world for over two weeks.

The UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) have been looking for a week at ways of resupplying the Bangladeshi soldiers in the enclave, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Thant Myint-U.

Meanwhile Akashi, following talks both here with the Bosnian Government and in nearby Pale with the Serb leadership, said Bosnian soldiers would now withdraw from a demilitarized zone (DMZ) outside Sarajevo.

UN forces, in exchange, will protect a road through the DMZ linking the besieged capital to the outside world.

"We have agreed to have UNPROFOR patrols on the road and the establishment of at least three observation posts which will go a long way towards securing the safety and security of the route," Akashi said.

Trucks heading into the city have to run a gauntlet of Serb fire along part of the Igman road and usually travel by night, with their lights out, as the Serbs take pot shots at the track with 20 mm cannon fire.

Under pressure from the UN Security Council, the Sarajevo government reluctantly agreed three weeks ago to withdraw its forces which had infiltrated the DMZ established on Mount Igman last year to prevent Serbs from overrunning it.

But the government warned it would only pull out all the troops when the UN had agreed to protect the Igman road.

Bosnian 1st Corps commander General Vahid Karavelic and UN sector commander General Herve Gobilliard are to meet to discuss "the nitty-gritty technical implementation of the agreement which Dr. Ganic and I have reached," Akashi said.

Meanwhile renewed fighting has broken out near Mostar, in the south of the country, where Serb artillery is in action following a Bosnian attack, UN officers said.

Some 85 shells fell in the northeast of Mostar and three shells landed in the western part of town, near the cathedral, on Friday, killing one child and wounding three others.

UN Appeals to Serbs

AU1311194294 Paris AFP in English 1912 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] United Nations, Nov 13 (AFP)—The Security Council Sunday [13 Nov] urged ethnic Serb forces in Krajina, Croatia, to refrain from cross-border attacks on the Bosnian Moslem enclave of Bihac.

The Council, in a declaration adopted by consensus, condemned "any violation of the international border of the Republic of Croatia" and asked all parties to refrain from any action that could trigger an escalation of fighting around Bihac.

Bihac is one of the UN-declared safe areas in Bosnia, and the Council stressed "the significance of its resolutions on safe areas and demands that all concerned" make their implementation possible.

The Council also asked the secretary general to report "as soon as possible on any further measures to stabilize the situation in and around the safe area of Bihac."

The closed-door meeting was called at the request of Sarajevo and Zagreb. [passage omitted]

In requesting the emergency Security Council session, Zagreb asked for the extension of NATO protection—backed by air strikes—into parts of Croatian territory controlled by Serbs.

Serbs on 'Outskirts'

LD1211215594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG) - The Bosnian Serb Army said late Saturday it had moved the frontline closer to the town of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia in the fighting on the outskirts of the town.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted Bosnian Serb sources as saying its troops had advanced in the area of the villages of Veliki Skocaj, Mali Skocaj, Vedro Polje and Klokot, and had engaged scattered Muslim groups southeast of Bihac.

The Bosnian Serb counter-offensive is a response to a Muslim offensive mounted from the U.N.-designated "safe area" of Bihac about three weeks ago.

Initially, the Muslims had wrestled about 200 square kilometers from the Bosnian Serbs, sending about

12,000 Bosnian Serb civilians—women, children and old men, fleeing for their lives, according to U.N. figures.

Bosnian Serb Army sources said Muslims had dropped a dozen mortar shells on Bosnian Serb positions at the town of Kupres in central Bosnia on Saturday.

The Bosnian Serb army said Bosnian Croat troops in Kupres had been reinforced with another unit on Saturday.

The Bosnian Croats took Kupres in early November.

Bihac Not 'Safe Area'

AU1111171194 Paris AFP in English 1658 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Friday he would no longer acknowledge the status of Bihac, the government-controlled pocket in northwestern Bosnia, as a UN-mandated safe area.

"Bihac has never been a 'safe area' according to the terms of the laws of war," Karadzic told a press conference here after a two-day session of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament which ended late Thursday.

Bosnian Serb forces were engaged Friday in a fierce counterattack aimed at winning back ground lost in the northwestern Bihac enclave to a Bosnian government offensive launched two weeks ago, according to UN and local reports.

Separatist Serb actions against the enclave are constrained by its status as a UN-mandated safe area, proclaimed as such along with Sarajevo, Tuzla, Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde by UN Security Council resolutions in May and June 1993.

Karadzic said a safe area could only exist for civilians whereas, in his view, Bihac and the other safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina were being used as "bastions of the Moslem armed forces" from which to launch offensives against Serb positions.

This, he said, was "a violation of international law and the UN Security Council resolutions."

He maintained earlier threats to recover the lost territory in Bihac, saying Serb forces would "disarm the Fifth corps" of the Bosnian army fighting there, "and we will ourselves create a 'safe area'.... There will be no more armed Moslem forces in the Bihac pocket."

Akashi Seeks Milosevic's Help

AU1111201494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Nedzad Leko on the news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic and Yasushi Akashi, UN secretary general's special envoy, in Sarajevo on 11 November—recorded; Akashi and Ganic speak in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Leko] Following the talks, Akashi said to the reporters:

[Akashi] We discussed the situation on Mt. Igman, as that is the priority issue. We also discussed the need to introduce measures to stabilize the situation around Sarajevo but also elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We also touched upon our mutual relations, which should be based on mutual trust. We have not had time to discuss other issues, such as the enclaves and the humanitarian aid for them. We did, however, discuss the situation in Bihac as it is extremely serious.

[Leko] Dr. Ganic told reporters:

[Ganic] We would like to be convinced that the policy of the Security Council is in concert with the policy of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] on the ground. We would like to see these two policies overlap so completely as to have just one policy. The situation is very serious, tragic in our enclaves. The Serb forces are now using aircraft as well, which brings into question the use of alternative methods in delivering aid to these areas. We have been told that air drops of humanitarian aid is perhaps not the safest of methods. We hope that UNPROFOR will undertake serious steps and do something.

[Leko] Yasushi Akashi reacted to this statement of Dr. Ganic's with the following claim:

[Akashi] There is no question of an absolute conformity of our actions, which have always been guided by the Security Council resolutions. As for air drops of humanitarian aid over Bihac, there are certain security aspects that have to satisfy NATO. As you know, I gave a very clear statement on Bihac yesterday. I am also in touch with Milosevic to see whether he can help in this situation.

Attack From Croatian Regions

AU1411123394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The center of the attacks on Bihac is still in Meljinovac and Zeljezno Polje, at the foot of Mount Pljesevica, and from the direction of Donji Lapac, although these units have suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the joint forces of the B-H Army 5th Corps, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Supreme Command of the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac Region when they attacked Veliki Skocaj and committed the unprecedented crime of massacring four civilians, two women and two men.

There are also constant attacks on villages and residential areas along the border with Croatia from the other direction, from Licko Petrovo Selo. After the serious defeat suffered by the enemy units on this section of the front, the enemy forces were seen regrouping and bringing new military hardware from the UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones in Croatia.

There has been fierce fighting with aggressor forces on other fronts as well. The aggressor is using all sorts of artillery pieces and weapons. Joint units of the B-H Army 5th Corps have been responding appropriately to these attacks and have successfully rejected all assaults on the free parts of the Bihac region.

'More Than 2,000 Shells'

AU1111144994 Paris AFP in English 1433 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Government forces appeared to be on the defensive Friday [11 Nov] from a fierce counter-attack by Bosnian Serbs, supported by Serbs from Croatia, trying to win back lost ground in the northwestern Bihac enclave, UN and local reports said.

More than 2,000 shells slammed into the enclave in the first few hours of Friday after Serb artillery and infantry fire resumed at dawn, the local BIHAC PRESS AGENCY said in a report received here. The shelling targeted both Bihac town and surrounding villages right up to the Croatian border.

BPA said six civilians were wounded in shelling Thursday, after 10 people were killed Wednesday.

Bihac's leaders on Friday asked the UN Security Council to intevene "urgently" to protect civilians in the pocket, which is a UN-designated security zone, BPA said.

The Serb counter-attack aims at winning back ground lost in a surprise breakout by Moslem-led forces in Bihac in late October. They were the first major government gains in the 31-month-old war.

The Bihac casualty toll could not be confirmed by independent sources, including the UN Protection Force here where Paul Risley said UN military observers in the Bihac region had been forced to take cover because of the violence of the latest battles.

He said the enclave was "violently shelled" Thursday for at least six hours in a two-pronged offensive with Bosnian Serbs attacking from the east and Croatian Serb (RSK) secessionist forces attacking across the border, from the west.

He said UNPROFOR was "preoccupied" by what he called the serious aggravation of the situation in Bihac after Serb separatists from Croatia had joined in the battle.

In Sarajevo, a spokesman said UNPROFOR was sending some 180 Dutch soldiers to the Bihac enclave to reinforce 1,200 Bangladeshi soldiers cut off by ongoing fighting and unable to call in air support.

Major Koos Sol described the situation of the Bangladeshi soldiers, who deployed in the enclave on October 18, as "fairly worrying", adding that they had almost no medical supplies and were running out of other essentials.

UNPROFOR has some 1,000 soldiers in the enclave. UN spokesmen in Sarajevo said it has demanded that Serbs lift their blockade of the territory to allow in supplies, and threatened force if Serbs do not comply.

UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi was due in Sarajevo Friday for talks with Bosnian leaders on the issue, and hoped to get to the nearby Serb stronghold of Pale for talks with Serb leaders on Saturday.

In Zagreb, deputy director for UNPROFOR civilian affairs here, Vladislav Gerasev, was trying to arrange a meeting with Serb secessionist leaders in Knin, the capital of the self-proclaimed Serb republic in Croatia's Krajina section.

But UN sources said he was told the Serb leaders were all in session and no one could meet with him. The Krajina leaders were reportedly examining plans for the unification of self-proclaimed Serb republics in Croatia and Bosnia.

Bihac, where some 300,000 mostly Moslem residents live according to Bosnian figures, lies in the heart of territories that Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia hope to unite in some sort of Serb federation.

UNPROFOR spokesmen here could not say how many Krajina troops might have gone to help out in the Serb counter-offensive in Bihac.

Krajina Serbs have an army of some 50,000 men with 240 tanks from the old Yugoslav army, 500 pieces of artillery, 12 planes and six helicopters, according to western military estimates.

UN: Significant Serb Shelling

AU1411101894 Paris AFP in English 0839 GMT 14 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 14 (AFP)—Serb forces Monday shelled a suburb of Bihac town in violation of its UN-declared safe area status, a UN Protection Force spokesman said here.

"Significant" shelling targetted the suburb of Orljani, two kilometers east of Bihac town, between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m. (0300 and 0700 GMT), Major Herve Gourmelon said.

There were no immediate reports of casualties and it was not known whether the shelling was carried out by Bosnian Serbs, or their ethnic Serb allies from Croatia, just across the border.

On Sunday, the UN Security Council called on the warring parties to refrain from any action that could trigger an escalation of fighting around the Moslem-held enclave in western Bosnia.

The council also stressed "the significance of its resolutions on safe areas" and demanded that all concerned make their implementation possible.

Sunday evening, there was also heavy shelling of the Grabez plateau, just east of Bihac town, amid reports that Serb forces were moving back into the area.

Moslem-led government forces broke out of Bihac enclave three weeks ago, rolling back Bosnian Serbs forces and capturing 250 square kilometers (150 square miles) of territory.

But the Serbs, who have launched a strong counter-offensive, have since regained 30 to 40 percent of the ground, UN officials said.

Gourmelon also reported heavy shelling Monday morning in northern Bosnia. Serb forces were bombarding an area some five kilometers (three miles) southwest of Kalesija, in the Tuzla region.

Meanwhile, Bosnian government forces have made small gains just outside Mostar, in the south of the country.

Serbs Attack Doboj, Telic, Tesanj Areas

AU1411125894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last 24 hours, the aggressor continued his usual activities with artillery and infantry weapons on the free territories of Doboj and Teslic, as well as on some parts of Tesanj Municipality. Here is Mirudin Aldobasic reporting from the Information Service of the 7-South Operations Group:

[Begin Aldobasic recording] Immediately the barrels of their heavy weapons cooled off, Ozren chetniks tried to move the lines on the Doboj front, particularly in the Putnikovo Brdo region. Of course, this time again, members of the 203d Glorious Doboj-Bosna Motorized Brigade and the 110th Home Guard Regiment of the Croatian Defense Council of Usora did not allow any surprises to happen. They successfully repulsed all attacks and inflicted considerable losses in manpower and military hardware on the enemy this time as well. [end recording]

Serbian Army Reports Muslim Attacks in North

LD1211201094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 12 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 12 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army said Saturday Muslims were continuing fiercely to attack Bosnian Serb positions on northern Mt. Ozren down to the town of Vozuca in the foothills.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted Bosnian Serb Army sources as saying that the Muslim artillery and infantry had begun attacking five days ago, but had not moved the front line.

The Muslims are attacking from the directions of the towns of Maglaj and Zavidovic, 70-80 km north of Sarajevo, the town of Kakanj, 40 km northwest, and the town of Banovici, about 65 km northeast of Sarajevo, the source said.

The Bosnian Serb Army reported neutralizing two Muslim commando squads on the front line near the town of Teslic, about 85 km northwest of Sarajevo.

The Bosnian Serb Army Saturday said Muslims were making preparations for another assault against the corridor in the Sava river valley that links the eastern and western parts of the Bosnian Serb republic.

The source said the Muslim troops on the mountain range of Majevica, northeastern Bosnia, were being amassed across from the corridor, where the main force of the Muslim offensive was expected to be directed.

The source said the corridor had been hit by eight shells coming from the territory of neighboring Croatia on Friday night, but there had been no casualties.

In Herzegovina in the south of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnian Serb army reported Muslim shellings of Bosnian Serb positions and villages from long-range artillery weapons, as well as pitched battles in the past 24 hours.

The source said the shellings had claimed no casualties, but had badly damaged residential buildings.

Bosnian Serb army sources said the fierce Muslim offensive in Herzegovina was about to be crushed.

Counteroffensive by 4th Corps Reported

AU1411110894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Nov 94

[Report by the Information Service of the 4th Corps]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] (?The 4th Corps) of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has resisted the fierce chetnik offensive that the aggressor launched in a desperate attempt to reach the Neretva and has thereby been writing the most glorious pages in our Army's history. Ready for one more attack on the free territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, fighters and officers of the 4th Corps have reacted readily and promptly and stopped the aggressor and set off into a counteroffensive. [passage omitted]

The chetnik corps command publicly admitted that this was the fiercest assault that they have so far experienced: a horrendous eruption in [words indistinct]. Everything was on fire and the result was as follows: Destroyed were (?howitzer battery) [words indistinct], a large number of antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, praga weapons. In the [word indistinct] alone, more than 50 chetniks were liquidated and a chetnik barracks razed.

All military potential in (Zubevin) has also been destroyed, including many tanks, an ammunition depot, and all vehicles at (Njilo) Brdo. Alone at Pratez, Berink, and Biljace, (Njilo) Brdo, more than 100 chetniks were liquidated.

In the region of (Bandole), chetniks fire positions have been destroyed, between 30 and [words indistinct] chetnik units in [word indistinct]. Also destroyed were reconnaissance [word indistinct] and logistics centers. Twelve aggressor soldiers were caught and now they confirm all this.

Our reconnaissance information confirms that real panic reigns in the chetnik ranks. Nobody wants to be assigned to the artillery and other units in the back, everybody would rather go to the front lines as it is safer there. The fear of death and of sudden actions where nobody expects them is having results. The aggressors' soldiers have been dying at Bakracica, as well as 5km from Nevesinje. The fact that it is not safe there is shown by many reports that petrol is the most sought after item and that a liter costs as much as 40 German marks on the black market. There is not enough of it to drive away the dead. [passage omitted]

After all that has been done—and much has been done—we can say that the flag with nine fleur-de-lys is proudly flying at (Plast), (Kamenac), (Vucji Kuk), and Borova Glava. Now we can state that the chetnik East Herzegovina Corps has been thoroughly crippled. [passage omitted]

Gorazde Reported Under Serb Artillery Fire

LD1211114894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] There was increased activity in the Gorazde area this morning. Residential areas and defense lines came under artillery fire and there have been usual provocations from infantry and anti-aircraft weapons. According to reports from the war hospital, two civilians have been seriously wounded in the wanton chetnik attacks, Mustafa Kurtovic reported.

Serbs Shell Mostar; Muslims Launch Counterattack

LD1311213194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb aggression in the operational zone of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 4th Corps [Mostar area] has been going on for two months now, with the aim of capturing Mount (Rosci) and the Bijelo Polje valley and severing the Mostar-Jablanica road. Simultaneously with the offensive, the Serb aggressor is shelling the very center of Mostar, which has been declared a demilitarized zone.

After repelling all Serb attacks over the past two days, fighters of the 4th Corps have taken over the initiative in certain sectors of the front and captured some strategically important points. The Serbs have suffered great losses in manpower and equipment in the counterattack. Three praga [30-mm antiaircraft] guns, two tanks, and a considerable number of vehicles have been destroyed, as well as the communications center, command post and munitions depot in the village of Rabina, the motor pool in the village of Zuberin, the weapons depot in (Gumanci), and the 122-mm howitzer battery in Donja Rabina.

Large quantities of weapons and equipment have been seized in the area of the (Rist) mountain lodge.

More than 100 members of the Serb aggressor army have been liquidated; among them, as confiscated documents show, was Major Sakota—a Chetnik duke. A large number of aggressor soldiers have been taken prisoner. Among others, the POW's include: Lazovic Goran, born 1973 in Nevesinje, captured in the village of Rabina, member of the Eighth Motorized Brigade; Kovacevic Milivoje, born 1956 in Nevesinje, captured in Rabina, member of the Eighth Motorized Brigade, operator of a 122—mm howitzer; Kovacevic Miodrag, born 1971 in Mostar, captured in Rabina; Vujic Mirko, Pojuzina Miodrag, and many others, the information service of the 4th Corps has announced.

Serbs Threaten To 'Demilitarize' Mostar Region

AU1311154894 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs threatened Sunday [13 November] to carry out its own "demilitarisation" of the EU-administered Mostar region in reprisal for an alleged "massacre" by government forces of a Serb village, according to Bosnian Serb television monitored here.

Serb regional army command said in a statement it did not recognise Mostar's status as a UN-mandated safe area given that the Moslem-controlled part of the region between Blagaj and Bijelo Polje was "a bastion of Islamic fanatics and an arsenal of modern war material."

The statement threatened "to demilitarise, if necessary, the Mostar region" following what it described as a "massacre" by Bosnian Government forces in a Serb village in the region.

Serb television said Bosnian Government forces had launched an offensive against Serb positions in the region of Konjic, north of Mostar.

On Friday Serb forces launched artillery shells at the Croat-controlled part of Mostar, killing two small girls and wounding eight other children attending a catechism lesson in the town's Catholic cathedral.

Mostar has been administered by the European Union after a year-long conflict between the city's Croat and Moslem populations was ended with a U.S.-brokered agreement setting up a Croat-Moslem Bosnian Federation.

Muslim Nevesinje Offensive Reportedly 'Crushed'

LD1211192694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bileca, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—The Muslim offensive launched from the Neretva valley toward Nevesinje, which began at dawn yesterday was crushed, Major Zoran Purkovic, commander of the Serb units in this part of the Herzegovina front, confirmed.

According to him, the remaining members of the infiltrated Muslim sabotage and terrorist groups are encircled and about to be either liquidated or taken prisoner. Several Muslim soldiers, armed with the latest U.S. weapons, were taken prisoner, said Purkovic.

Among the Muslim soldiers who were killed are a large number of members from the notorious "Black Swans" unit under the command of Zulfikar Alispagic from Novi Pazar, said Purkovic, and added that over 100 Muslim soldiers were killed between Vranjevici and Podvelezje alone.

The command of the Herzegovina Corps announced that Muslim terrorists stopped an ambulance on a road between Nevesinje and Mostar, killed its driver, a nurse, and a wounded Serb soldier. The vehicle was then burned.

Muslims Continue Attack

LD1411153494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 14 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bileca, Nov. 14 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb army Monday said Muslim army units continued attacking Bosnian Serb positions and villages in southeast Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The source said that a general alert had been sounded in the Bosnian Serb town of Nevesinje, about 25 km southeast of Mostar, because of the Muslim artillery attacks.

The latest Muslim offensive in the Nevesinje region was launched out of Mostar, a town under European Union administration.

The Bosnian Serb army said that a number of Muslim commando teams that had entered the Bosnian Serb territory around Nevesinje had been routed, while the reminder was trying to retreat toward Mostar, and the nearby towns of Blagaj and Bijelo Polje.

The Bosnian Serb army command said that some of the retreating commando teams were surrounded and that they would be neutralized soon.

The source said there were many casualties on the Muslim side.

A number of reporters were allowed to photograph the bodies 50 dead Muslim commandos.

UN Blames Both Sides for Shelling Sarajevo

AU1011134494 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 10 (AFP)—UN forces Thursday implicitly accused Bosnian government forces of shelling their own people inside Sarajevo, in the wake of an initial mortar attack blamed on besieging Serbs.

UN officers refused to draw any conclusions from their investigation into Tuesday afternoon's attacks on civilians in central Sarajevo, but they made it clear they believed Serbs had fired a first shell into the city and that government forces followed this up by firing two more shells into the same neighbourhood.

Two young girls aged 10 and 11 were killed outright and several other people were wounded as a result of the first attack, while a young boy was injured as a result of the explosion of the second and third shells.

Citing a scientific investigation carried out by the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the wake of the attacks, Lt.-Col. Jacques Lechevallier presented what he said were the facts of the case.

UN officers here said they were 95 percent certain that a first 80 mm mortar shell which exploded at around 1.25 p.m. near the town centre was fired from Serb lines.

Two hours later, at around 3.30 p.m., two more shells, fired within three minutes of each other and probably from the same weapon, exploded in the same area as that earlier targetted, one impacting on a pavement, the other in a garden.

Trajectory analysis suggested it was most likely the second attack came from within the goverment-held part of the city, Lechevallier said.

"From a scientific point of view that's the evidence," Lechevallier told reporters after conducting a briefing on the incident with graphs and charts showing the likely areas of fire.

It was unlikely that the two shells blamed on Bosnian forces could have targetted anything other than the urban centre where they fell, he added.

Asked about the UN claim, a Bosnian army press officer said: "The army does not even want to comment on such claims.

"Since UNPROFOR itself does not have reliable evidence for such a claim it all resembles previous accusations that we were shelling ourselves," he added.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation issued an ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs to stop shelling civilians in Sarajevo in February, in the wake of a mortar attack on the city's central market which left some 68 dead and 200 wounded.

Allegations were made at the time that the shell might have been fired from the Bosnian government side.

The Serbs later withdrew, or agreed to place under UN-supervision, heavy guns they had used to bombard the city for nearly two years, causing hundreds of casualties.

But both sides have continued the war along the Sarajevo confrontation lines using smaller weapons, including light mortars.

Following the recent esclation of the war elsewhere in the country, fighting also intensified around Sarajevo with Serbs deliberately shelling Moslem-held suburbs of the city.

The UN reacted by making a formal protest to the Serbs and calling in NATO fighters to buzz likely firing positions.

On Tuesday, UNPROFOR had complained that Bosnian police had denied it immediate access to the sites attacked and had cleared up any debris left from the shelling.

The UNPFOROR investigation, which it termed "a very scientific analysis", was conducted from studies of how shrapnel peppered the impacted sites. From this could be calculated the angle at which the shells fell, their likely trajectories and points of fire.

Serbs Open Fire on Sarajevo Districts

AU1411105894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, the aggressor acted with infantry weapons and rifle-mounted grenade launchers from the direction of Nedzarici and Grbavica on our defense lines at Vrbanja. There was antiaircraft machine-gun fire from Borije on (Zmajevac), and a death sower [M-84 machine gun] was actively shooting at some defense lines.

Five mortar bombs were launched from the Rajlovac barracks on (Izvor) and the general region of [words indistinct].

Sarajevo Hotel Targeted; UN, Serbs Clash

AU1311171894 Paris AFP in English 1631 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 13 (AFP)—Shooting broke out between French UN peace-keepers and Serb forces Sunday [13 November] afternoon after the Holiday Inn hotel was hit by missiles apparently fired from nearby Serb lines, eyewitnesses said.

Three to four missiles, believed to be rocket-propelled grenades, crashed into the lower floors of hotel, setting off a fire.

A UN firefighter who rushed to the scene received a leg injury as sniper fire erupted around the hotel.

It was not immediately known whether he was hit by sniper fire.

French UN troops nearby responded by opening fire towards Serb lines, prompting a new rocket-propelled grenade attack on the hotel.

The side of the hotel that was hit faces towards the nearby Serb lines and is not inhabited. It has on several previous occasions been damaged by gunfire.

The hotel has some 100 guests, mainly from the press and international organisations, and currently houses U.S. and German diplomatic premises.

No Casualties Reported

LD1311190594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The chetniks targeted the Holiday Inn Hotel this afternoon. We have just received more detailed information on this. Namely, the information service of the Interior Ministry has announced that three rocket-propelled grenades crashed into the Sarajevo Holiday Inn at 1625. The missiles were fired from the direction of Grbavica. Fire broke out in a section of the building, but was quickly put out by the Sarajevo fire brigade. Luckily, there have been no casualties, although material damage is extensive.

Immediately after the chetnik attack the scene was visited by investigating judge Zdenko Eterovic and a team of experts from the Interior Ministry. UN Proitection Force members also arrived two hours later after several calls, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry's Information Service reported.

Muslims Capture Strategic Territory Around Tuzla

LD1211105694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Members of the 330th (?Light) Brigade of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Third Corps have scored yet another military success. They have liberated the village of Podjezera and the domineering elevation of Kustura. Due to constant defeats on the battlefields, the Serbian aggressor is retaliating against innocent civilians. Let us hear again what it was like in Tuzla this morning.

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] The battles on all fronts of the Third Corps continue with unabated ferocity. The situation is worst on the Serici-Tesanj battlefield. Artillery pounded the villages of [placename indistinct] and Djurici. Chetniks attempted to regain the lost positions on several occasions, but our combatants prevented all attempts [words indistinct].

The combatants of the 330th (?Light) Brigade had most success today. They liberated the village of Podjezera and the important domineering elevation of Kustura. [passage omitted]

Serb Long-Range Artillery 'Pulverizing' Villages

AU1111152794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Nijaz Banjanovic from the Zvornik front]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chetniks have been pulverizing villages in Zaseok, Nezuk, Vitinica, and Kovacevici, and the defense lines along the Mt. Majevica part of the front with long-range artillery and tanks.

Granic, Silajdzic Discuss U.S. Decision

LD1111224194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and Bosnia-Herzegovinian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held talks in Zagreb this evening on the present situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the U.S. decision not to monitor the implementation of the embargo on arms imports to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is what they told our reporter Maja Sever:

[Begin recording] [Sever] First of all, what did you discuss this evening?

[Granic] We talked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia's occupied territories, especially in light of the latest decision by the U.S. Government not to take part in the implementation of the arms embargo, and about the situation on the Bihac front in connection with the activities of the Serbs from Knin, i.e. the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We strongly protested to both the UN Security Council and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] whose responsibility it is to prevent this.

I also briefed Prime Minister Silajdzic on the talks I had with Mr. Jovanovic and with the Knin Serbs, and on the overall situation in this region, especially on the implementation of all provisions of the Washington agreement. We agreed to continue our joint efforts aimed at implementing the Washington agreement and preventing the aggression against the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Sever] Will the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina continue to insist on the lifting of the arms embargo?

[Silajdzic] I think that today the United States made an important first step in this direction. The embargo failed to produce any results. Even if it were just, it would not have produced any results. The result is zero. The result is the continuation of war, suffering, expulsions, murders, etc. We must find a different remedy for this illness. I think that the U.S. Government made the first right step today. I said today that I did not expect any democratic government, especially the U.S. Government, to punish a victim. This is why we welcome this step.

[Sever] We are expecting the UN Security Council to hold a debate on [illegible]ting of the arms embargo.

[Silajdzic] There will be a debate. However, there are differences. Unfortunately, the governments from our continent are still insisting on punishing the victim, despite the fact that the public in these countries protested against this. We do not know how long all this is going to last. We do not understand such an attitude which produces no other result but the status quo. This is in the interest of the Belgrade regime.

[Sever] Could you comment on the latest developments in Bihac and Radovan Karadzic's latest statement that he does not regard the protected zones as such, referring to Bihac?

[Silajdzic] It is not only protected zones they do not recognize. This is an understatement. They do not respect anything, most of all they do not recognize the human right to life. This is why they have killed 200,000 people, this is why they have driven out 1,250,000 people. Regrettably, the international community continues to act in Bosnia as if this were a kind of natural catastrophe rather than a catastrophe that was created by the Belgrade regime, which is unfortunately carrying on in the same direction.

I believe that in Bihac the international community is losing momentum regarding the peace process because it has lost credibility.

[Sever] The U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright has expressed doubts as to whether Serbia's embargo on the Bosnian Serbs has gone into effect.

[Silajdzic] In our view, this embargo has never been comprehensive. I think that the Americans, as well as others, have some evidence; depending on whether they want to disclose their evidence of this embargo not being complied with, i.e. supplies are still reaching the rebel Serbs in Bosnia, albeit on a smaller scale than in the past. This is something we have to state.

It is a fact nevertheless that what is going on now in Bihac has been going on for as long as three years in Bosnia-Herzegovina. People, civilians, have been dying for three years as a result of, I have to use the word, bestial assaults on towns, villages, while the international community has not been able to protect civilians. Nor has it enabled us to defend ourselves. Hence, the international community has two ways of getting out of this situation: either it can intervene on its own, something that to my mind is the most normal thing if you have to face an aggressor, and help the victim and restore international order or allow us to defend ourselves. Any other option, something that is taking place now, helps the Belgrade regime in achieving its basic strategic aims, that is in securing a status quo, making the international community face a fait accompli, legalizing what has been achieved by genocide and aggression and eventually in lifting sanctions on Serbia.

Right now, in front of our eyes, these three stages are unfolding. We have one positive reaction on the part of the U.S. Government, in other words, we are not alone. The largest democratic country in the world is still on our side.

[Sever] Mr. Minister, how can the Krajina Serbs be persuaded not to take part in fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Granic] This is UNPROFOR's task as its supervision covers one part of the territory of the Republic of

Croatia. Croatia will clearly never renounce its legitimate right to protect its borders by itself in the event of UNPROFOR not being capable of that. [end recording]

Government 'Still Examining' U.S. Decision

AU1111163594 Paris AFP in English 1608 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Nov 11 (AFP)—Croatia is "still examining" a reported U.S. decision to stop diverting ships transporting arms to Bosnia-Herzegovina or Croatia, a spokesman for President Franjo Tudjman told AFP Friday.

"The embargo has not yet been lifted, and Croatia is still examining the reports about it," Jozo Curic said.

The spokesman noted that other countries involved in enforcing the UN-mandated embargo on arms to former Yugoslavia had not issued similar orders. [passage omitted]

RSK President Reacts to U.S. Announcement

LD1111164194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Commenting on the U.S. administration's decision to unilaterally suspend the embargo on arms sales to the Muslims and Croats, Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, told TANJUG today that "the embargo was never really observed, especially in the cases of Croatia and Bosnia."

According to Martic, Washington's decision "will certainly have an adverse effect on the continuation of the peace process, because it whets Croatian and Muslim martial appetites."

"It has yet again transpired that the United States, besides Germany, is the main generator of war on the territory of former Yugoslavia," Martic said. "Both America and Germany need a hotbed of crisis where they can market their outdated military technology."

UN: Bosnian Serbs in Croatian Serb Territory

AU1111170494 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Nov 11 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia has in recent days observed Bosnian Serb soldiers on the move inside Croatia in territories controlled by breakaway Croatian Serbs, UN spokesman Alan Roberts said Friday.

Roberts said UN observers in the Serb-held region of Krajina had seen Serb convoys coming from Bosnia who were "probably" headed for the border crossing north of the Bihac pocket in western Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Roberts said meanwhile that unconfirmed reports had revealed Bosnian Serbs normally based around Velika Kladusa to the north of Bihac pocket, had been seen in number inside Bihac town.

UNPROFOR has no observers in the immediate vicinity as the warring factions have not allowed them in, Roberts said. He added the Croatian Serbs were tightening the noose on the Bihac pocket, with Serb artillery targeting joint Moslem-Croat positions to the south of Bihac town.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic earlier threatened to "destroy the (mainly Moslem) Bosnian army" in the mainly Moslem Bihac enclave. But he said his forces would "pacify the pocket and protect the civilian population."

Bosnian Serbs Intensify Bihac Offensive

LD1211221794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report received from Damir Midzic, spokesman for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Fifth Corps information department, Martic's Serbs from UN-protected areas are continuing their fierce offensive against Bihac, a communique released this evening by the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina in Zagreb says.

The communique says that the Serbs have continued with their incessant shelling of first front lines held by the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council and all places within the range of the aggressor's artillery, particularly Velika Kladusa and the surrounding villages, not only from the area of Mount Pljesevica, but also from other UN-protected areas.

These attacks are combined with heavy pressure from Bosnian Serb units coming from the southeast of Bihac toward the Grabez Plateau, and from Bosanska Krupa toward Srbljani. It has also been confirmed that around 7,000 Serb soldiers from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are moving toward the Bihac battlefield. They have crossed through the corridor in northern Bosnia, the communique goes on to say.

A great many civilians are arriving in Bijeljina, donning uniforms and, with newly brought-in military equipment - tanks and mechanized missile launchers - are moving through the corridor toward Bihac and partly toward the Doboj and Teslic battlefield. Troops and weapons are also being brought into Bosnia-Herzegovina via border crossings in Visegrad, Bileca to strengthen the Sarajevo and Gorazde fronts.

Those soldiers are already fighting alongside Serb units from Croatia - the Vukovar brigade, several units from Belgrade, and special units of the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs. All these units have been registered, which was again confirmed by Bosnia-Herzegovina

Army Fifth Corps sources, the communique issued by the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zagreb states.

Tudjman, Council Read Izetbegovic, Zubak Letters

LD1211161094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman today chaired a session of the Presidential Defense and National Security Council. The Council examined letters from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in which they say that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] are the targets of air and artillery attacks and land military operations from the direction of Croatia's occupied territories. Civilians in western Bosnia and in the UN Protected Area [UNPA] are being killed in these actions, a statement from the president's office says and continues:

Within its mandate, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] was forced to disarm Serbian paramilitary units in Croatia's occupied territories under UN protection. The aggression on neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina from the UNPAs proves that UNPROFOR is responsible for allowing Serbian military units to use heavy artillery weapons, not just to maintain the occupation of parts of Croatia, but also for the aggression against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina. The Council concludes that the rebel units from the UNPAs are violating the Zagreb agreement of 29 March 1994.

As a sovereign state, the Republic of Croatia, in keeping with international law and the Washington agreements, condemns the fact that Serbian paramilitary forces are using its territory to launch attacks on the neighboring state, and draws attention to the responsibility of UNPROFOR, which is failing to prevent these attacks.

While examining the demand of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak in this light, and continuing to advocate a political solution to the crisis, a cessation of hostilities, and the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions, the Presidential Defense and National Security Council demands that UNPROFOR prevent the massing of Serbian units and paramilitary units in the UNPAs, and their attacks from the territory of the Republic of Croatia on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as prevent the forceful mobilization of Muslim refugees in the UNPAs into the ranks of Serbian paramilitary units.

In his letter to President Tudjman, Kresimir Zubak stresses that, according to reliable information, over 8,000 members of the Serbian military formations from Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the so- called UNPAs are involved in the attacks on northwestern Bosnia. The territory of the sovereign and independent Republic of Croatia is being used as a launching pad for the violation of all existing UN resolutions regarding UNPAs, in order to carry out aggression against another sovereign independent state—Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I believe that the Republic of Croatia should take all the necessary steps, diplomatic and all others, at its disposal in order to prevent this aggression. On behalf of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Kresimir Zubak begs the Croatian president that he personally, and the Croatian Government, should do everything in their power in this dramatic situation to help halt the Serbian aggressor's intentions.

In his letter to President Tudjman, Alija Izetbegovic says that strong military attacks on the Bihac protected area are in their 10th day. The brunt of these attacks emanates from Croatia, especially from the UNPAs. According to reliable information, fresh forces are being amassed in the UNPAs and they are preparing to launch attacks on Bihac and Velika Kladusa from several directions. Three days ago this area was also attacked from the air. The planes took off from Udbine Airport. Although we are familiar with the specific circumstances in which the Croatian territory is being used for attacks on Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, Alija Izetbegovic writes in his letter to the Croatian president, we are asking you—in the spirit of the international provisions of law—to take all the necessary steps to prevent the attacks on Bosnia-Herzegovina from your country's territory. We also expect you to take into account the provision on military cooperation between the two countries' border areas, laid out in the friendship and cooperation agreement we signed in July 1992, Alija Izetbegovic says at the end of his letter.

UN Representatives Want Observers on Border

LD1311221594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In their bilateral talks with UN Security Council members today Croatian representatives in the United Nations called for observers to be deployed on the Croatian- Bosnian border in response to Serb attacks from the UNPA [UN Protected Area]. They also asked for the condemnation of the Serbs from the occupied Croatian territories over their violation of the Zagreb agreement and urged that their weapons be placed under supervision.

They also drew attention to the failure to implement UN Security Council resolutions and the fact that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has been tolerating the blatant acts of violation of these resolutions. The UNPA's have not been demilitarized and the Serbs are even allowed to use heavy weapons, the Croatian diplomats stressed and asked for UNPROFOR control of the airport at Udbina and for close air support against the

Serbs from the occupied Croatian territories. The Serbs from the UNPA must be told to observe the Zagreb agreement otherwise Croatia will act to reflect the fact that the attacks on the Bihac pocket were in flagrant breach of the Zagreb agreement, the Croatian diplomats said in their bilateral talks with the UN Security Council members.

Mikelic Denies Involvement in Bihac Fighting

LD1311182694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 13 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] said today that members of the Serb army of Krajina [SVK] were not involved in the fighting in western Bosnia.

Rejecting accusations on the alleged presence of SVK troops around Bihac and allegations about the bombing of the town, Mikelic said in a statement for TANJUG:

I find it hard to believe they are accusing us of bombing Bihac. This is yet another provocation by the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army that has found itself in an inferior position in the fighting with the Srpska Army.

This is part of a premeditated design, coinciding with our negotiations with Croatia; a new form of pressure on us and the search for an excuse for a possible attack by Croatia against the RSK; pressure exerted with the aim of forcing us to accept something we do not want to or can accept—the reintegration of the RSK into Croatia.

Having recalled the fresh waves of refugees and the expulsions of the Bosnian Serb Republic population, "as was the case in 1941," Mikelic said that this had not met with the condemnation of the international community and the UN Security Council.

According to Mikelic, this encouraged the 5th Corps to advance even further, and on several occasions launch provocative attacks in the regions of Baranja and Kordun [Krajina border with Bosnia], which resulted in the deaths of 30 people.

Mikelic said that it was precisely in Kordun and Banija that 70,000 Muslim refugees from western Bosnia were accommodated, which, together with the refugees from the Bosnian Serb Republic, additionally aggravated the refugee situation in the RSK.

The refugees from western Bosnia, who are still arriving, know best that the SVK is not taking part in the fighting in western Bosnia, Mikelic said.

The Krajina prime minister added that the international community failed to react when Bosnian Croat defense council forces and Croatian Army regulars had attacked Kupres, at the same time when the Muslim army's 5th Corps had embarked on its conquest, he said.

However, the international community found it appropriate to react and vigorously protest when the RSK barred passage to international humanitarian convoys supplying the 5th Corps with arms and ammunition under the guise of concern for the civilian population.

Only those convoys found really transporting medicines and humanitarian aid will be let through—under our careful scrutiny, the Krajina prime minister said.

He reiterated Knin's lasting and firm commitment to negotiations with Croatia, in the belief that: Only through the negotiating process, and on the basis of equality, can solutions be found to all problems.

RSK Party Adopts Document on Serb Unification

LD1011203694 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report that in Knin, the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina, adopted a document on the implementation of a Serbian federation, which contains the basic principles of the republic of Serb Krajina's [RSK] foreign policy. This document, signed by Milan Babic, Krajina SDS president and RSK foreign minister, says that the RSK has three options for unification. They are conditional upon the territorial distance between the two republics, and the Serbian people's desire for the strongest possible unification with the mother country.

The first option is the inclusion of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb republic [RS]—as separate federal units—to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with a possible confederation as a transitional solution.

The second option closely depends on the international stability of the FRY and it envisages the unification of the Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina into a federation, which would initially link with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a confederation. This model has been internationally tested on the Muslim-Croat Federation, which has been given a chance of linking with Croatia in a confederation.

The third model of inter-Serb unification would be the implementation of a RS-RSK federation that would develop into a unitary state. From the viewpoint of the RSK, this model could only be worked out as a necessity, for the consolidation and international protection of the RS and the RSK, but it conceals the risk of an ultimate division into eastern and western Serbs, with the Drina River as the border. This is not in the national interest of the Serbs. For the RSK this model conceals the risk of the separation of parts of eastern Slavonia and Baranja, which would become an easy target for Croatia's ever-present aspirations to annex the RSK territory.

Depending on the stands of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the RS, as well as the balance of powers in the international community, the RSK could be open to all three above models of inter- Serb unification.

Although a path toward the final recognition of the RSK and the unification of the Serbian people into a single federation will not be quick and easy, the Serbian people in the RSK do not want to choose any other way toward a better future, we read in the document on the implementation of the Serbian federation, adopted by the Krajina SDS at a session in Knin last night.

RSK Passes Serb Lands Unification Project

LD1111015094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0037 GMT 11 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Nov. 10 (TANJUG)—The national assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] gave Thursday the go-ahead to the unification of all Serb lands, as proposed by the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina.

A total of 53 deputies were in favor, seven were opposed, and two abstained.

The bill was sponsored by the largest party in the assembly—the Serb Democratic Party—and elaborated by its leader and Krajina Foreign Minister Milan Babic.

The project envisaged three variants of unification. The first is for Krajina and Bosnian Serb republic, individually to unite as separate federal units with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

According to the second variant, Krajina and the Bosnian Serb republic would unite into a federation, which would at first confederate with Yugoslavia, while the third model envisaged the two western Serbs republics to unite into a unitary state.

Babic said Krajina was open to all three models of unification, and which one would be chosen depended on Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb republic, as well on the balance of forces in the world.

Meets For Second Day

AU1111161494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] is meeting in Knin for the second day in a row. The deputies are currently discussing several draft laws concerning the administration of justice. Last night, they adopted a report on the work of the government over the latest period and accepted the resignation of Information Minister Borivoje Rasuo.

The report on the work of the government, which was submitted by Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, concludes that the blockade on the Drina River is adversely affecting economic trends in the RSK, but that positive results have nevertheless been achieved. He said that new investments will create 5,000 new jobs. This would have been impossible without the help from and cooperation with businesses from Serbia, Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic stressed.

The second round of negotiations between expert delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the RSK on technical issues, that is legal and commercial aspects of opening oil pipelines, has begun in Topusko. Conclusions from this meeting will represent the starting point of renewed highest level negotiations that will be held in Zagreb on 15 November.

As Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic said, the most important thing is that the talks be held on equal footing without prejudicing political solutions. Anything else would led to continuation of the war in this region, something, of course, that no one wishes.

Here is what Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic said about the continuation of the negotiations.

[Begin Mikelic recording] As regards political issues in particular, and the way Croatia is presenting things—it is virtually setting dates for reintegration—I think that this is quite ridiculous. The RSK and people in the RSK have already said many times that they have the right to self-determination, plebiscite, their own state, independence, and to decide with whom they want to live. It is obvious that Croatia does not fit that criteria.

So, we favor a civilized settlement of infrastructure problems, economic ties, everything that might enable us to survive in Europe and renders us an integral part of thereof. We, here in this part of Krajina, where the East and the West meet, do not want to appear to be the side that does not want the negotiations on economic issues and infrastructure. However, this does not mean that we will accept a solution whereby the international community imposed by Croatia's friends and Croatia itself wants to integrate Krajina. [end recording]

Knin Mayor Rejects Reintegration With Croats

AU1311180394 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 94 p 14

[Interview with Knin Mayor Drago Kovacevic by Gradisa Katic; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Drago Kovacevic is second in command, so to speak, in the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in Krajina and Milan Babic's number one associate. He was chief of the party's electoral headquarters in the last elections, and is currently the mayor of Knin and head of the Krajina SDS deputy caucus in the assembly.*

[Katic] There is a thesis that Slobodan Milosevic pushed the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] into the war, and that he is now gradually disowning it. In contrast to Raskovic, Babic cooperated with some other people in Belgrade.

[Kovacevic] I am not a supporter of the thesis that Milosevic pushed us into the war. The Serbs here had to protect themselves from biological annihilation. In any case we counted on Serbia's help because it is the constitutional obligation of any authority in Serbia to help us. As far as who pushed whom into the war, and who is disowning whom is concerned, I believe it is as yet too early to say.

[Katic] The RSK faces three possibilities: The unification of all Serbian lands, the unification of the RSK and the Serbian Republic [RS], and reintegration into the Republic of Croatia with a high degree of autonomy, perhaps even a state within a state.

[Kovacevic] The third option is out of the question! There is not a single individual in the Krajina who would recognize any state tie with the Republic of Croatia. If these areas ever become Croatian, if this happens through some misfortune, then there will be no Serbs in them. I believe that all this is going to go on for a long time, that the struggle will be difficult, and that we need to show a lot of patience and wisdom in order to find the way out of the labyrinth. Our ultimate goal is a single Serbian state, which we would, in short, call—Serbia. Of course this will be difficult to accomplish. In 1991 we passed up a historic chance to do this in one go. It was subsequently decided that we should proceed toward this goal by taking the longer road.

The SDS will very soon come out with its concept of unification. It comprises united Serbian states, a Serbian federation which would include Serbia, Montenegro, the RS, and the RSK. We have two variants of the unification. The first is a federation between the RS and the RSK which would, based on the model of the Muslim-Croatian Federation, form confederal ties with Yugoslavia, and this would be an interim phase until the creation of the united Serbian states. According to the second variant, we would immediately form a federation of all Serbian states, but the first variant is more realistic.

[Katic] Are you familiar with the Z-4 mini Contact Group plan?

[Kovacevic] I have not seen this plan, but there are bound to be more such plans. We shall need a lot of wisdom and intelligence in order to transcend all this, and I believe that the Krajina will have this status for some time, but in the end, our right to self- determination as to with whom and how we are going to live will be realized. Of course, this does not mean that we shall not cooperate with Croatia on issues of economy and infrastructure, but there is no way that the Croatian Sabor [assembly] will give us our rights, and one day the Croats will have to come to terms with this.

[Katic] There were several attempts at uniting the RSK and the RS, but they were never realized, so that the idea itself has somewhat devaluated.

[Kovacevic] This particular story was used more as a threat to the international community. In practice, we need to function as one single region with the RS, and that is currently much more important than the proclamation of the unification itself.

[Katic] Which territories would comprise the possible, joint state?

[Kovacevic] The RSK Army holds the Serbian ethnic areas, except in western Slavonia, where we hold less than is rightfully ours.

[Katic] Are there areas where the Serbs are not in the majority?

[Kovacevic] Such areas do not exist.... We hold exactly what belonged to us in former Croatia according to the land registers. We might have been a minority in eastern Slavonia, but that is compensation for western Slavonia. We lost 5,000 km of territory in Slavonia, where the Serbs were a majority.

[Katic] Is it possible that eastern Slavonia will join Serbia before the other areas?

[Kovacevic] There is no principle according to which this is possible, and it is very important that we have established a single authority throughout the RSK, and that we operate as one state regardless of territorial separation. If one were to have this approach, then we would be reduced to negotiating as some local Serbs. [passage omitted]

[Katic] There is an impression in Serbia that Krajina is gradually returning to Croatia, and that Babic is currently better for this than Martic.

[Kovacevic] There is no question of that. Milan Babic is the last person who could draw the Krajina back into Croatia. I responsibly claim that Milan Babic created the RSK, and it would be as if a father were to kill his child. Perhaps someone has been spreading such rumors, but such manipulation is incorrect. There can be no question of that; it would be more realistic to say that you can now take a bus in Knin that will take you to Mars. It is a different matter that Babic is the only man who in the current ratio of power can hold his own with Croatia.

[Katic] What if the negotiations fall through?

[Kovacevic] We have to do our utmost not to be at war. If it comes to aggression, we shall defend ourselves and we shall most certainly not be alone in this struggle.

[Katic] Owing to the incompleteness of the legal system in the RSK, and owing to the great influence of the military and the police (the president is a policeman), many people are inclined to claim that Krajina is one large military camp.

[Kovacevic] It is precisely the SDS for Krajina that is not allowing this area to be a military camp. There were tendencies toward this, but these options no longer stand a chance. Probably certain people believe that this would be the easiest and most efficient way of resolving problems. There are sporadic attempts at irregularities, but they are swiftly resolved.

[Katic] Is the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia still banned?

[Kovacevic] They were banned at the beginning of 1992 and the ban is still in place. In the last elections they appeared as independent candidates, yet they are very organized and very dependent. Personally I consider this ban unnecessary, because their chances would be even smaller under their full name.

[Katic] As far as I know, this ban was imposed because of the hyperinflation of certain spies and counterspies—ours, international, and Croatian. How many of them are currently in the RSK?

[Kovacevic] Fewer, for certain, but they are nevertheless still here because these services are still active, but less so. It is true that at the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992 the situation in this sense was a nightmare. We have three services here: ours, the Bosnian, and from Serbia. Of course, the army has its own service. It is difficult to understand who is working for whom, and I am personally not that interested in it. I could see all this very well during the election campaign, in Lika for example—you stand by the bar, and immediately 10 people surround you. During the campaign one man followed me nonstop, I got very used to him. At one point I entered a cafe in Plitvice, and there he was, so I wrote a note saying: "Not to worry, the next stop is Topusko." I never saw him after that, they replaced him immediately.

Federal

Government Statement on U.S. Embargo Decision

LD1211124594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—At a session this morning, the Federal Government reviewed the situation after the U.S. Government's unilateral decision, allowing the unhindered import of arms for the Muslim side in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the federal Secretariat for Information has announced.

The Federal Government's statement reads:

"It is with regret that the Federal Government received the news on the U.S. President's decision that, as of today, the U.S. ships with the NATO fleet in the Adriatic should let through all ships transporting weapons to the Muslim and Croatian side in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The U.S. Government's decision is not in the interest of peace and a political solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. It aims at creating conditions for a further dangerous escalation of the war, and it objectively undermines the peace process by giving preferance to the war option. By passing this decision, the United States is meddling even more openly and directly in the civil war, and is siding with the Muslims who, particularly at this time, are launching military offensives from the area under UN control, thereby violating the cease-fire agreement.

"Deeply concerned with this negative development, for which the greatest responsibility lies with those who have most contributed to it, the Federal Government underscores its firm belief that the option for peace and a compromise, and a just and lasting political solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, has no sound alternative.

"All involved players should contribute to the search for such solutions, and should not encourage the forces interested in prolonging the crisis and solving it through the further escalation of the war.

"In this respect, the Federal Government reiterates once again its adhrence to the Contact Group's plan, as an acceptable basis for further negotiations, and calls on all countries to refrain—in line with the UN's principles and relevant decision—from measures and acts that put the peace process in jeopardy."

Kontic: Decision 'Unbelievable'

LD1111163294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic told TANJUG today that the Federal Government is attempting to obtain the fullest possible information about the nature and extent of the latest U.S. decision on a unilateral lifting of the embargo on the importation of arms by the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"It is quite certain that when it learns all the details, the government will react in the appropriate manner," Kontic stressed.

The prime minister assessed the U.S. decision as an exceptionally serious precedent in international relations. "Almost unbelievable. I can simply hardly believe that it is true," Kontic stressed.

"This decision goes against international law. It violates in the crudest manner the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and discredits the United Nations as a framework for resolving international conflicts and problems," the prime minister assessed.

In his view, the decision is disrespectful with regard to the United States's allies and the other forces in international affairs, and, he said, represents a crude demonstration of political force in international relations.

"It places the United States on one of the warring sides in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict—on the side of the Muslims," Kontic categorically stated.

Hence the decision may have serious consequences for international relations and for the so-called new world order. It could give rise to serious destabilization in certain regions of the world, if something similar were to be repeated elsewhere, Kontic explained.

"The decision shows not only that U.S. policy was not disposed towards us in the preceding period, but also that this attitude towards the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is becoming increasingly aggravated."

"It appears that U.S. policy has only one interest, only one aim—the realization of its own interests. Whether in the process certain norms of international behavior and international law are violated, appears to be of least importance to U.S. President Clinton," Kontic told TANJUG.

Jovanovic: Decision 'Regrettable'

LD1111144494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told TANJUG today that the U.S. decision on noncompliance with the embargo on arms deliveries to the Muslim Government in Bosnia-Herzegovina was deeply regrettable and arousing everybody's concern.

"Such a decision cannot promote peace and the likelihood of a political resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and will certainly meet with disapproval throughout the world. It might also adversely affect relations between the United States and other powers," the Yugoslav foreign minister stressed.

Jovanovic said, unfortunately, the decision came as no surprise because the United States has for a long time been assuming a very provocative position on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and has in many ways remained aloof of the efforts others were investing.

"In question this time is the authority of the decision by the UN Security Council, which is binding on all. By doing this America is setting a very bad example to other countries, which will certainly take this into consideration when examining the meeting of their own obligations to various binding UN Security Council decisions," the minister emphasized.

Jovanovic believes this was probably the straw that broke the camel's back in the United States's siding with one side in the civil war, the side that has lately been launching major offensives from demilitarized areas, thus violating the cease-fire and trying to blaze up the war in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kontic Explains Decision To Break With Serbs

AU1111174494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Svetlana Zivkovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the debate on the government's performance that has lasted several days, the majority of the deputies in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly spoke positively about the government's decisions, and today's voting only confirmed what we had the opportunity to hear about the work of the government in the last few days. Prior to the vote itself, the deputies were again addressed by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. He expressed satisfaction with the debate as a whole, because, as he said, all parliamentary parties convincingly demonstrated their commitment to peace. Speaking about the conditions under which the government made the decision on the economic and political blockade of the Srpska republic, Prime Minister Kontic explained what could have happened had the government not made that decision.

[Begin Kontic recording] Had this decision not been made, it is quite certain that the following unfavorable course of events would have occurred very quickly and within a very short period of time:

First, even harsher sanctions would have been imposed on both the Srpska republic and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and these sanctions were being prepared. They would have certainly led the already exhausted economy to a state of complete collapse. In other words, not only would the program of economic recovery of our economy have been endangered and destroyed, but this would also have had long-term implications. By this very fact, all our humanitarian and other help to the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina, which we had been and are still giving today, would have been significantly reduced. Of course, this would have affected it considerably and it would have had some other implications.

In addition, it is quite certain that the embargo on arms to the Bosnian Muslims would have been lifted, which would have inevitably led to an escalation of the war, the arrival of mujahidin in this region, and the destabilization of the entire region.

Faced with this kind of outcome, one became breathless, and our decision of 4 August forced the Security Council to reject the resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims. Had this decision not been made, be sure that the Security Council's decision would have been completely different.

It is quite certain that an agreement would have been quickly reached on a greater NATO involvement in the no-fly zones, on the extension of operations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would have certainly meant this regional force siding with the Muslims. This, of course, refers to the Muslim-Croat side.

Our decision in fact managed to prevent such an engagement from going to the end, to retain the double key in the process of making decisions on intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and prevent unilateral actions by NATO. This was a real possibility until a few days ago.

In these conditions, the dream of the Muslim-Croat forces would have come true, as well as that of various other external and internal factors to draw the FRY in the war. Many expected this to happen, and I would say some were even maliciously joyful about it. It is my deep conviction that we could not have done a greater favor to the Muslim-Croat coalition than by rejecting the Contact Group's plan.

Therefore, I would like to say once again that with its decision of 4 August, the Federal Government in fact preserved the peace process, prevented the escalation of the war, convincingly demonstrated to the world that we favor and mean peace, prevented the imposition of even tighter sanctions against the FRY, contributed to the lifting or easing of the sanctions, dispelled illusions and prejudices about the FRY and the Serbian people, enabled Yugoslavia's return to international life, and so forth. [end recording]

To conclude, the Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said:

[Begin Kontic recording] Regardless of what I said at the beginning, namely that I was expressing on behalf of the Federal Government satisfaction with the debate as a whole, because the policy of peace has won, I must say nevertheless that I will be satisfied with this discussion only when our brothers on the other side of the Drina understand the message that has been so convincingly demonstrated in the last three of four days. This is a message of peace and of the need to accept the Contact

Group's plan and solving all issues through political negotiations. [end recording]

The speech was followed by the deputies' vote. The Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly gave the Federal Government a vote of confidence with a great majority. [passage omitted]

Supports Contact Group Plan

AU1311201594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 94

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by Sonja Djuric in Belgrade on 13 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Djuric] Mr. Kontic, the government did not fall, you received the support of the majority of deputies, yet it was possible in the past four days to hear several remarks and criticisms. Was it difficult to defend all of the Federal Government's moves?

[Kontic] Well, I would primarily like to say that this three- day, or better said, almost four-day debate has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the Federal Government's decision made on 4 August was the only rational decision at that particular moment. It is not only we, the members of the Federal Government, but also a great number of deputies who very convincingly defended the decision. In my opinion this did not present a major difficulty since the decision actually saved the peace process, postponed the escalation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and prevented the voting of even sharper UN Security Council resolutions against both the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Moreover, it prevented a more extensive engagement of NATO forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and prevented the passing of a UN resolution lifting the arms embargo for the Muslim forces. In short, I would say that the assembly as a whole, the Chamber of Citizens, that is, firmly demonstrated its commitment to peace and the peaceful solution of all open issues in the region.

[Djuric] To what extent is it possible, or is it at all possible considering all the circumstances, to assess how long the Federal Government's 4 August decision could or should stay in effect?

[Kontic] Well, you know, I would be the happiest of men if our brothers across the Drina River were to understand the message sent them by the Federal Assembly after this three-day session. This is in effect a message of peace, a message confirming commitment to the Contact Group plan, and the resolution of all open issues in negotiations with the warring sides.

Government Survives Parliamentary Confidence Vote

AU1111125194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 11 Nov 94

[Report by Svetlana Zivkovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Precisely! The majority of deputies in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Assembly's Chamber of Citizens have voted confidence in the Federal Government, so the extensive debate on this motion by the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party, which has lasted for several days, has ended.

Prior to the vote itself, deputies were once again addressed by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. He expressed his satisfaction with the debate in general, because, as he said, all the parliamentary parties demonstrated their determination for peace in a convincing fashion. In this chamber peace has won; however, the satisfaction will be complete when our brothers on the other side of Drina River comprehend this decision, Prime Minister Kontic emphasized.

The FRY Government, Radoje Kontic stressed, with its 4 August decision, managed to preserve the peace process, prevent the escalation of war, and prove to the world that we are permanently in favor of peace. Such a decision precipitated a partial lifting of the sanctions and facilitated FRY's return to international life. The number of our friends abroad, who are increasingly more vocal in their calls for a total lifting of the sanctions, is growing, Kontic emphasized.

Concluding that the chamber expressed its trust in the Federal Government, Radoman Bozovic, chairman of the Chamber of Citizens, said that the debate and the vote confirmed that the Federal Assembly and its chamber consider the policy of peace their policy, as well as a precondition for the realization of the essence of national and state interests of the FRY and the entire Serbian people, and for continuation of war and sacrifice of people. [sentence as heard] This is also a call to our brothers in the Srpska republic to perceive this policy as in their interest, Radoman Bozovic concluded.

With the vote of confidence in the government, the first session of the second regular session of the FRY Chamber of Citizens ended. [passage omitted]

Kontic Cabinet Survives

LD1111123594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Following a three-day debate, the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens today gave the Federal Government a vote of confidence.

A total of 62 deputies came out in favor of Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic's cabinet, 37 were against, and 6 abstained.

The voting was held on a motion put by the Serb Radical Party over the Government's decision to sever political and economic ties with the Srpska republic.

Jovanovic Criticizes Serbs on Negotiations

AU1011201194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Report Mirjana Protic on statements by FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic at FRY Assembly's Chamber of Citizens in Belgrade on 10 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Protic] Vladislav Jovanovic, FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] foreign minister and member of the FRY Government, addressed deputies at the Federal Assembly this evening. He was speaking about the steps taken by the Federal Government and its peaceful efforts, as well as the Contact Group plan for the solution of the problems in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Jovanovic] When one talks about the plan, one should keep in mind the essential principle that the union, be it a federation or a confederation, cannot be composed of unequal parts. It is implied that it has to comprise equal federal or confederal units.

Initially the plan consisted only of maps. Only later, following the demand of the Srpska republic, were guidelines offered for constitutional arrangements, which were incomplete and meant really only an invitation for talks on constitutional arrangements. This was not a conclusion; this was only an introduction to further discussions.

[Protic] Minister Jovanovic also spoke about the population in Bosnia.

[Jovanovic] This plan does not imply necessary withdrawal. On the contrary, it implies that the population of all three sides should remain where it is, and a whole mechanism of protection is listed. Let us not forget that this plan has been offered by its authors as the basis for further negotiations on all possible issues. These include negotiations on exchanges of territories.

[Protic] Responding to deputies' questions, Minister Jovanovic also spoke about the leadership of the Srpska republic.

[Jovanovic] The leadership of the Srpska republic has not shown itself up to the task of negotiating. They have thrown away two or three chances when they could have had the upper hand in the situation with unnecessary hair-splitting and unnecessary insisting on one valley or one river or one hill. [passage omitted]

Defends Support of Serbs

LD1011143994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, federal minister for foreign affairs, said at today's session of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens that his government fully supports the republic of Serb Krajina and the Srpska republic in their right to win self-determination.

"We have not withdrawn our support and everything is geared precisely to this—the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be free and equal in deciding their future."

Replying to a question raised by deputies, Jovanovic stressed that the Contact Group's peace plan enabled the Serb people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina to win their goals by peaceful means.

The Yugoslav foreign minister noted that since the very beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia the government has agreed to every suggestion and plan that includes elements in support of the rights of the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Our people in the republic of Serb Krajina accepted the Vance-Owen plan, which includes the fundamental right to secure their goals and protection from war, thus enabling them to talk to representatives of Croatia on equal terms," Jovanovic stressed.

"It is true that we demanded that the Serbs should be reinstated in Croatia's Constitution since this implies statehood, including the right to self-determination," Jovanovic stressed and noted that the omission of the Serbs from the Constitution was the reason behind the confrontation.

"By calling on the Croatian Government to return the Serbs to the Constitution we wanted to strengthen the position of the Serb people within Croatia as well as within the republic of Serb Krajina," Jovanovic said.

In our negotiations with Croatia we have not discussed Krajina, the minister stressed and said that the Vance-Owen plan includes Croatia's obligation to have direct talks with Krajina.

Speaking about mutual recognition, Jovanovic said that "those who expect our recognition should stop denying our right to succession." [passage omitted]

Party Leaders Comment on Zagreb-Belgrade Talks

AU1111080694 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Z. Radovanovic: "Making Practical Steps First"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—Meetings are always welcome, for without talks, one cannot form any policies. However, I am bothered by the veil of secrecy surrounding these talks. This represents secret diplomacy, since neither the parliament nor the public knows what was discussed. We have learned about the obligations that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] has assumed from the international community. This is why

I think that the foreign policy should return to parliament. This was stated by Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, for Kragujevac Radio, commenting on the Zagreb-Belgrade negotiations.

The leader of the Democrats holds the view that the request that FRY recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is cynical, as it amounts to asking an internationally nonrecognized country to recognize countries that are members of the United Nations. He said that the delegations of the FRY and the Republic of Croatia must first discuss difficulties in the everyday life of their citizens, such as Serbs' holiday houses in Croatia, pensions, and so forth, and that readiness for further cooperation should be tested in this sphere.

Tomislav Nikolic, vice president of the Serbian Radical Party, says that, in principle, the Serbian Radical Party takes the view that the FRY should maintain relations with all countries in the world. However, there is a serious danger that, in this specific case, the FRY could do this tendentiously, that is, to the detriment of the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina].

"The FRY and Croatia should discuss all issues to find out whether conditions exist for economic cooperation, which would, however, only be possible after the RSK is recognized as an independent state," Nikolic says.

Academician Mihajlo Markovic, member of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] leadership, takes the view that the process of normalization of relations between the FRY and Croatia is moving slowly, and it is slow because the Croat side is constantly setting conditions, but that it is nevertheless making progress.

"Talks are necessary, nothing can be solved with force. One should first settle the issue of communications and economic relations, and then tackle political issues and the issue of Krajina's status. At this moment, the topical issues are the [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway, oil pipelines, water supplies, and electricity," Academician Markovic says.

He then particularly stressed that Croatia should return to a pre-1990 constitutional definition according to which there were two peoples in Croatia with the right to state-creation, Serbs and Croats. According to him, this would mean that the two peoples could, independently and sovereignly, decide on the their future.

According to Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, negotiations must be held.

"Everything that is acceptable must be agreed on and signed immediately. This refers to the opening of communications, roads and railroads, the restoration of water and electricity.... They can agree that refugees start returning homes and to their property. A political solution should be found step by step. Until then, the UNPA's [UN Protection Areas] should remain under UN protection," Draskovic said.

[Box, p 4]

Peace Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina Is Pro-Serbian

Commenting on the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vuk Draskovic said that one has explained the fact that according to the Contact Group's peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Karadzic has not been asked to withdraw the army of the Srpska republic to the positions inside the 49 percent of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory.

"No one is demanding this, no one is touching the army, nor is anyone disarming it anywhere on the 70 percent of the territory of Bosnia over which Karadzic claims Serbs control. Therefore, both the army and the authorities of the Srpska republic will remain on that territory until all three sides in the conflict accept the constitutional solution. This in fact means that the acceptance of the Contact Group's peace plan in the first stage represents the end of hostilities, and that the army of the Srpska republic can remain in its positions for another three months or three years. And, in the meantime, the war is supposed to end. Had the army been disarmed, then there would have not been so many casualties in Kupres, the Bihac pocket, and other places," Draskovic said, adding that the Contact Group's peace plan is not anti-Serbian, but pro-Serbian.

Serbia

Parties React to U.S. Embargo Decision

LD1111190594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 11 (TANJUG)—Serbia's leading opposition parties Friday protested the United States decision no longer to participate in the implementation of the embargo on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslavia.

The U.S. decision was disclosed Friday by the NEW YORK TIMES, which said the decision would become effective at 2300 UTC Saturday.

The U.S. decision has been interpreted by international media and foreign statesmen as a unilateral exemption of the Bosnian Muslims from the embargo on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslavia imposed by the United Nations Security Council in September 1991.

Serbia's Democratic Party President Zoran Djindjic said in an interview the United States had disqualified itself as a mediator in the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace process.

Djindjic said the initiative in the peace process should now be taken by Great Britain and France, as countries with the largest number U.N. peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Great Britain, France and Russia have been the main opponents of the U.S. idea for the exemption of the

Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo, presented in the form of a draft resolution in the U.N. Security Council last week.

The U.S. draft resolution received the backing of five council members but needed the support of at least nine.

Djindjic said the U.S. Administration's decision showed that Washington viewed a military solution as the only logical outcome of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said it also showed U.S. arrogance vis-a-vis Russia and other major powers.

Djindjic said it appeared that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not suit the United States, since a resumption of talks was to be expected after the Bosnian Muslims had failed militarily to resolve the dispute and their latest offensive was repelled.

Djindjic said in the interview that negotiations were the only means of resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said that, by promising arms to the Bosnian Muslims, the United States was raising their hopes for a military solution.

Djindjic said the United States was impeding the peace process and destabilizing the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the long-term.

Serbia's Civic Union Vice President Zarko Korac said in an interview that if the reports were true to fact, the U.S. Administration's decision was a most direct consequence of the midterm elections for the U.S. Congress.

Korac said "major divisions" would take place between the United States and its Western European allies, especially within NATO, and "Russian-U.S. relations will most likely be especially disrupted."

Serbian Radical Party Vice President Tomislav Nikolic said the U.S. move was a "farce."

Nikolic said the Bosnian Muslims had been supplied with arms even so far despite the U.N. arms embargo.

He said Washington's latest decision was only one in a series of recent U.S. decisions which were to the detriment of the Bosnian Serbs and in the interest of the Muslims.

Nikolic said the decision was "an indication that nothing will come out of the peace plans, and that the Muslims, encouraged by the United States, are preparing for an all-out war."

The Serbian Renewal Movement released a statement saying, if the reports proved right, the U.S. decision would be "disastrous" and would "lead to an escalation of the war, more killings, destruction and sufferings of unforeseeable proportions."

The statement said the party hoped that U.S. President Bill Clinton had not taken the reported decision which "would be tragic and would doubtlessly mean a declaration of war to the contact group peace plan for Bosnia."

The Serbian Renewal Movement statement said, "peace cannot be built by means of arms, or life by means of death."

Urge NATO Enforcement

LD1211202294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 12 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian political parties Saturday condemned the United States' decision to withdraw from enforcing on the Bosnian Muslims the U.N. arms ban on the former Yugoslavia.

The New Democracy Party, which is the Serbian Socialist Party's partner in the governing coalition, said the unilateral U.S. decision was setting a dangerous precedent in international relations.

The party stressed the importance of NATO's decision to continue enforcing the ban, and welcomed the condemnation of the U.S. step by Russia and the European Union states.

The Serbian Citizens' Alliance said the U.S. decision was designed to increase pressure on the Bosnian Serb Government to accept the "contact group" plan for dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The party said the decision risked serving the purpose of the advocates of war and narrowing room for the peace process.

The Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina said the U.S. decision would negatively affect the overall situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, disturb the peace plans devised to date and encourage extremist supporters of the war option on all sides.

The People's Radical Party, the Party of Serbian Unity and the Serbian National Renewal Party said the U.S. decision clearly wiped out all peace initiatives and the plan of the five-nation contact group for Bosnia.

U.N. Security Council Resolution 713 of Sept. 25, 1991, imposed the arms ban throughout the former Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade-based Center for Anti-War Action said the U.S. decision was in violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 713 and international law, as only the Security Council had the authority to rescind its resolutions and adopt new ones.

The Serbian Liberal Party said the decision was an open declaration in favour of the war option rather than of a political settlement of the Bosnian question, and openly supported the Bosnian Muslim side in the escalating war.

Belgrade To Settle Serbian Refugees in Kosovo

LD1011225594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina said in Pristina today that the Commission for Refugees and the republican government would do everything to provide permanent accommodation in Kosovo and Metohija for Serb refugees from the war-affected areas.

In talks with heads of provincial districts today, Bratislava Morina pointed to the topical nature of the Serbian Assembly's program for the resettlement of 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins—returnees and refugees in Kosovo and Metohija.

"It ought to be said publicly that we intend to resettle those Serbs and Montenegrins who have been evicted from these areas, but also those Serb refugees who cannot return to their homes. Anyhow, Serbia has the absolute right to determine how it will settle its own territory," Morina said.

She added that the Serb refugees are very interested in living and working in Kosovo and Metohija. This is best confirmed by a large number of demands for the allocation of apartments being built in Vucitrn and Decani.

The republican commissioner for refugees warned of an announcement made by the Swiss Government that it would soon send around 100,000 Albanians back to Kosovo and Metohija. She called on all government representatives to be vigilant and prevent the arrival of those Albanians who, as she put it, are confirmed criminals.

Taking part in the discussion, Vojislav Zivkovic, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, supported the commission's decision to resettle permanently the Serb refugees in Kosovo and Metohija, and stressed this was of great importance for changing the ethnic structure in this area.

"In Kosovo and Metohija we have a great many villages from where Albanian separatists have evicted the Serbs—construction of settlements for refugees will serve as a defense against further ethnic cleansing," Zivkovic said.

Bratislava Morina announced that construction of a refugee settlement in Kosovo Polje will begin soon and asked heads of provincial districts to draw up plans and projects for the construction of new settlements.

She added that UNHCR intentionally refuses to take part in financing the construction of refugee settlements in Kosovo and Metohija or Vojvodina, but is "generous when it comes to some settlements in central Serbia."

Bratislava Morina also had talks with the Pristina city leadership about the accommodation of refugees. It was said that the city authorities have already allotted areas for the construction of settlements for Serb refugees. These are areas in Ajvalija, Lebane, and Maticani, all in the vicinity of Pristina.

Montenegro

Party Official Condemns U.S. Embargo Decision

LD1111191894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1901 GMT 11 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 11 (TANJUG)—A Montenegrin party official said Friday the United States unilateral exemption of the Muslims from the arms ban would have a negative effect on the situation in Bosnia.

Democratic Party of Socialists whip in the Yugoslav parliament's lower house Milan Gajovic said "such decision can only add fuel to the flames and fan the war in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere in the region."

The Democratic Party of Socialists is the governing party in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The U.S. daily THE NEW YORK TIMES on Friday (?reported) the news that the U.S. Administration would no longer participate in [word indistinct] control of the arms embargo implementation for the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The daily said the decision would become effective on midnight (2300 UTC) Saturday.

The decision was interpreted in the world as a unilateral exemption of the Bosnian Muslims from the September 1992 arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia.

Gajovic said the unilateral U.S. act could disturb all peace plans and recent efforts aimed at ending the Bosnian civil war.

Gajovic said the U.S. decision could considerably hamper the international "Contact Group" work on a plan acceptable to all sides to the conflict. Gajovic said that some countries should certainly consider whether they should continue to observe the obligation to implement sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The United Nations imposed the sanctions on the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992 [words indistinct] involvement in the civil war between the Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats.

Kosovo

Mazowiecki Reports 'Deteriorated' Situation

AU1111093594 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 484 in English 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights, issued the ninth periodic report on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, including Kosova. The following is the text Mr. Mazowiecki's report concerning the situation in Kosova:

"Regular and consistent reports indicate that the situation in Kosova has deteriorated further in the course of the past six months. The special rapporteur has taken note of some particularly disturbing reports according to which, during the period January to June 1994, more than 2,000 persons were taken to police stations for the so-called 'informative talks,' lasting from hours to several days. A majority of these persons were allegedly subjected to severe ill-treatment and torture while detained by the police. During the past month, there has reportedly been drastic increase in the number of violent house searches, raids and arbitrary arrests by the law enforcement authorities. Most of the violence has reportedly occurred when the police, under the pretext of looking for hidden arms or wanted persons, raided homes or entire neighborhoods. During these searches, minors, women and elderly people have reportedly also been ill-treated, apparently because of their relationship to persons wanted by the police. These attacks appear to be controlled or at least condoned by the leadership of the law enforcement authorities. According to recent reports, in the period 1 January to 30 June 1994, more than 3,000 homes were searched and more than 1,700 persons subjected to police abuses in connection with the raids. A particular brutal incident was reported from Podujeva, where the police, while conducting an identity check on 15 September 1994, violently forced the passers-by to lie down on the ground. Fourteen of these people were subsequently brutally beaten by the police using truncheons.

"Undue delays and serious irregularities have been reported in connection with court proceedings against a large number of ethnic Albanians accused of posing a threat to the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The majority of accused appear to be members of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK). One of the latest of these trials reportedly started in Prizren on 16 September 1994 against four ethnic Albanians, members of the LDK. It is alleged that two of the defendants were arrested as early as 31 May 1994, and that they have been kept in detention since that date. Moreover, it appears that these persons have been subjected to severe ill treatment during interrogations by the police.

"Another cause for concern are the extremely difficult circumstances under which schools and other educational institutions work in Kosovo. It has been reported that, on 22 February 1994, the government discontinued the activities of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova and confiscated its building. Moreover, it is with great concern that the special rapporteur has taken note of reports according to which several Albanian primary and secondary schools have been forced to interrupt their work because of police harassment. Shortly after the beginning of the school year in early September 1994, it was reported that police entered the premises of several elementary schools. A particularly brutal incident was reported to have taken place in connection with a police raid on 1 September 1994 at the 'Ibrahim Pervezi' elementary school in Mitrovica. During the raid several teachers were reportedly severely beaten and kicked in front of their pupils by police officers. Two of the teachers allegedly had to seek medical care after the incident."

Police, Tax Collectors Seal Off Gabkr Village

AU1111102494 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 484 in English 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] During the last few days, Serbian police together with tax-collectors in order to collect land property fees from the Albanian land-owners, have been blocking all the roads that lead to Gabkr village of Mitrovica, LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] sources in Gabkr inform.

On 8 November, Serbian police joined by a tax-collector stopped on their way to the Mitrovica hospital Shaqir Selimi and his son Naser Selimi. The police held Mr. Selimi's son and asked him to go and get 300 German marks he had to pay if he wanted his son released. The police also as a substitute for taxes confiscate tractors, bicycles, and agriculture machinery.

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